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LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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This little book owes its existence to repeated demands for an Introductory Volume to the series of Epochs of English History, in which will be found fuller details of all the subjects mentioned in the following pages.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

1. WE know very little about our country, until just before the time of the birth of Christ, when it was visited by the Romans, the great conquering people of old times, who spread their arms and their laws all along the Mediterranean Sea, and then northward through Gaul, till they reached the shores of the Channel. Their great general, Caius Julius Cæsar, who had conquered Gaul, came over to Britain, B.C. 55 and 54, and fought against the Britons to prevent them from sending any help to the Gauls, who were their kinsfolk. In this way the Romans got to know of Britain; and when Gaul had entirely submitted to them, they sent an army to Britain (A.D. 43), and after some fighting conquered the island as far north as the Firth of Forth and the Clyde (A.D. 78).

Romans at Britain. A.D. 43-78.

2. The Britons were a rude people, who lived in huts in small villages, and were often at war, one tribe against another. The Romans, when they came among them, did as they did everywhere they went—built towns, made roads, kept order and peace throughout the land. To guard the northern boundary of their province of Britain, the

The Roman rule, 78-409.

Roman Emperor Hadrianus built (A.D. 120) a great wall between the Solway Firth and the mouth of the Tyne to keep back the Caledonians, as the people who dwelt in the north were then called; parts of this wall still remain and are the greatest memorials of the Roman rule in our land. Besides these things, the Romans were the means of Christianity coming into the land, and the Church spread among the Britons. After a rule of 350 years the Romans left Britain. For the German tribes on the borders of the Empire began to grow stronger as they learned from the Romans, and at length attacked the Romans themselves, so that they were forced to withdraw from the outlying provinces and fight for those nearer home. The Britons were gradually left to themselves; and when the Romans ceased to fight for them (A.D. 409), they found it hard work to keep off the barbarous tribes of the north—the Picts, as the Caledonians were now called, and the Scots, a tribe who had come over from Ireland. At last things went so badly with them that they welcomed the coming among them of a German people, who had been sailing for some time around their shores, and who they hoped would fight for them against the Picts and Scots. This people was called the English, and its home was on the coast of the North Sea, by the mouths of the river Elbe.

3. There were three tribes of these English—the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons. The first who came were the Jutes (449), who, when they found that Britain was a pleasant land, brought over their wives and children, and drove out the Britons, whom they called Welsh, or strangers. The first settlement of the Jutes was in Kent (451). Soon came the Saxons and set up a kingdom of the South Saxons, or Sassen, in 477, and a kingdom of the West Saxons in 519. A little later (547) came the Angles, who

English conquest of Britain, 449–524.

conquered the land along the east coast, and set up the kingdoms of East Anglia and Northumbria. Others advanced inland from the Humber and went into the middle of the land, whence they gradually drove the Welsh to the Severn Valley, and called their land the March or border land.

4. In this way Britain was conquered by the English, who drove the Britons or Welsh to the west, where they held Devon and Cornwall, Wales, and Strathclyde, or the country from the Clyde to the Mersey. But the English and the Welsh did not mix together, and the English learned from the Welsh none of the ways and customs which the Romans had taught them, but lived according to their own fashions which they brought with them from their own homes. They did not live in towns, as the Romans had taught the Britons to do, but were a farmer people, and lived together in villages, where were the homesteads of a few families. All the freemen had land given them when first they settled in England; and they lived at home and worked the land, except when the king and his Wise Men called them to go to war. All freemen had land, and those who had no land were slaves, and worked for others.

Customs of the English.

5. The English were heathens, and learned nothing about Christianity from the Britons, whom they despised. But there was a wise and good Pope, Gregory I., who sent missionaries to England. It is said that he did so because he had seen in Rome some fair-haired boys for sale as slaves, and, marvelling at their beauty, asked who they were. When he was told that they were Angles, he said, 'They should be angels instead of Angles.' Hence he thought of the heathen English when he became Pope, and sent a company of monks, headed by one Augustine (597).

Conversion of the English, 597–627.

The men of Kent listened to him and became Christians, and so did the East Saxons and the men of East Anglia. But the mightiest of the English kingdoms in those days was that of Northumberland, and the way in which it received Christianity shows how our forefathers managed their affairs. King Edwin of Northumberland had married a wife from Kent, who brought with her a monk, Paullinus, who preached the gospel to the king and the people. Then the king called together his Wise Men and asked their opinion, and one rose and said: 'O king, the life of man seems to me to be as when a sparrow flies into your hall when you sit at meat with your lords. It comes out of the darkness and flies out into it again. So is the life of man: we know not whence it comes nor whither it goes If this new teacher has aught to tell us, let us listen to him.' All agreed to his words. After they had heard the preaching of Paullinus, the chief priest of the old gods rose and said that he had served his gods faithfully and had profited nothing; so he rode to the idol's temple and broke it down (627).

Effects of the conversion, 627-754.

6. After this Christianity spread through the rest of the land; and though some kingdoms went back to heathenism at times, still the gospel prevailed, and the English strove to spread it amongst other peoples. English missionaires converted the Germans along the Rhine, and helped to set in order the Frankish Church. The English gained much from Christianity, which made them gentler, and taught them to be less cruel in their wars. Moreover, Christianity was a means of uniting them; for in 668 the Pope sent to England a priest of Tarsus, called Theodore, who set up two archbishops and bishops to rule the Church, and gave districts for priests. When the English found themselves thus brought together in

religious matters, they were more likely to come together under one rule in other matters, and so form one kingdom instead of many. Again, by becoming Christians and setting their Church under the Pope, the English drew nearer to the other nations of Europe. For as the Roman Empire had held together under one law the peoples whom Rome conquered, after its fall the Roman Church began to take its place and hold the peoples of Europe together under one faith. The English conquest had separated our land from the rest of Europe, but their conversion brought it back again. The Church also taught the people many things; for the monks lived together in houses by themselves in wild places, where they tilled the land. Some of them became men of learning, as was Bede, a monk of Jarrow, who wrote a history of the English Church. At the monasteries also was kept a record of the chief things that happened every year, and from these comes the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, which tell us about these old times.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMING OF THE DANES.

1. ENGLAND had been conquered by a number of bands of warriors, who had made separate kingdoms; but gradually one kingdom became mightier than the others. First Kent was the chief kingdom; but it was small and had to give way before Northumberland, which for a time seemed likely to bring the other kingdoms to own its superiority. But the power of Northumberland fell at the end of the seventh century, and after that the kings of the Marchland and of Wessex warred against one another, to see

Mercia and Wessex, 757–836.

who should be chief. Offa, king of the Marchland (757–96), brought the other kings to look up to him as their lord. He also drove back the Welsh, and built a great dyke between the Dee and the Wye, as the Romans had done before; the dyke is still called by his name. Moreover, he dealt as an equal with the great king of the Franks, Charles the Great, who was bringing together the peoples of Western Europe as Offa was bringing together those of England. But Offa did not succeed; for after his death the chief power passed to Wessex, where it stayed, and it was under the over-lordship of Wessex that England at last became one. The king of Wessex who brought this about was Egbert (800–836), who had fled before the power of Offa to the court of Charles the Great, and there had learned many wise ways. He brought all the kings of England and all the kings of Wales up to the Dee to submit to him as lord.

2. But just as the power of the West Saxon king seemed to have established peace in the land, new enemies began to attack it from abroad. These were the Danes, who were near of kin to the English, and now were driven by troubles at home and by the wars of Charles the Great to seek new lands abroad, as the English themselves had done three centuries before. The Danes, in their ships, sailed about quickly, took the English by surprise and plundered them. They would sail up rivers and settle in some island or safe place, and then carry off everything round about, and when they were attacked would sail away again. At the end of Egbert's reign they plundered the south coasts; and, as they were heathen, they dealt cruelly with the English.

The Danes.

3. Egbert beat back the Danes; but those who came after him were not so strong as he, and the Danes grew bolder and began to make settlements, and then pressed

on into the middle of the land. It was hard to do much against them; for though England was under one lord, yet there were many smaller kings and ealdormen, under whom each part of the country still governed itself, and gathered together its own troops and sent them to the host of the nation. But it took long to collect these troops, and they could not be kept together when there was nothing certain to be done. Moreover, when there was a weak king, whom the people did not respect, there was little unity of action among them. When the Danes found out this, they came in greater numbers, and settled in the north and east of England. When the next great king, Alfred, came to the throne (871), he had hard work in fighting against them; and at last, in 878, was driven from his kingdom and into a little island, which was called from him Athelney (the Princes' Island), among the marshes of Somersetshire. But the people gathered round him again, and he raised an army and defeated the Danes, so that they made peace with him at Wedmore. By this peace the Danes consented to become Christians, and Alfred gave up to them the land north of the Thames and the Roman Road, Watling Street, which went from Dover to Chester. Thus the Danes settled peaceably in England, and now that they had become Christians they mixed with the English people.

Danish invasions, 838–878.

4. After this there was peace for a time, and the kingdom of Wessex again became powerful under Alfred, who was a good and wise king, and made good laws for his people. Also he built ships to go against the Danes, and strengthened his kingdom, so that the Danes feared him. Moreover, he set up schools and brought learned men to teach his people. He ruled so wisely and well that the kings who came after him were able to make themselves again kings over

The great kings of the English, 878–979.

the whole land; they conquered the Danes, and even the Welsh and the Scots submitted to them as their lords. These were the great kings of the old English days, and under them the land was peaceful and prosperous. First came Alfred's son, Edward the Elder (901–925), who subdued the Danes as far as the Humber; the princes of Northumberland, Strathclyde, Wales, and Scotland all 'chose him as father and lord,' as the Chronicle says, for they saw how great was his power, and they all needed his help against the Danes. His son Ethelstan (925–940) added Northumberland also to his kingdom; and Edmund (940–946) did away with the kingdom of Strathclyde and gave it to the king of the Scots to rule, who promised in return to help him in war. Edgar also (959–975) reigned in great glory; and it is told of him that once, when he was at Chester, eight kings who owned him as their lord rowed him in his boat on the river Dee. In his days lived Dunstan, whom Edgar made Archbishop of Canterbury, and who, by his wisdom, did much to make these great kings spread their power over the Welsh and the king of the Scots. Dunstan also ruled the clergy well, and set in order the monks who had begun to live carelessly. By his advice wise and good laws were made for the people by the king and his Wise Men.

Government of the English.

5. Many changes had come over the people since the time that they first settled in the land, and the way in which they were ruled under the great kings was this: The small kingdoms had passed away, and instead of them were *shires*, over each of which was put an ealdorman by the king and his Wise Men; besides him also was a *shire-reeve* (sheriff or bailiff of the shire), to look after the king's dues. Every township managed its own small business; but for greater

things they sent men to the assembly of the shire, or *shire-moot*, over which sat the ealdorman, the bishop, and the sheriff. Thus each shire governed itself in a way; but the laws were made by the king and his council of Wise Men (*witenagemot*), in which sat the bishops and ealdormen, and such other wise men as the king summoned from among those who served him. For the king had become much more powerful in these troubled times, and could keep more followers than other men. It had always been a custom among the English for the great men to have followers (*gesiths*) who served them. As the king grew great and had much land to give to his followers, it became an honour to be his follower, and men did not think it beneath them to change the name of gesith to that of *thane*, which means servant. In this way all the great men came to be the king's thanes, and the poorer men put themselves under the thanes and gave them their lands to protect. Thus a change came over the freemen in England, as the fights against the Danes drove them to hold more closely together. But the Danes taught them also to hold fast by their freedom and not submit entirely to the great nobles.

6. There was need, however, of a strong king to keep the English together and drive back the Danes, who again began to attack England. After the days of Edgar came a king who did not know how to rule, Ethelred, who was called the Unready, that is, the man without *rede* or council. When the Danes and the Northmen from Norway came again to England, Ethelred, instead of fighting against them, raised money from the people and paid them to go away. Of course this only made them come back in greater numbers, and Sweyn, King of Denmark, did

Ethelred the Unready, 979–1016.

much ill to the English. But instead of fighting against him, Ethelred fought against Malcolm, King of the Scots, and also sent his fleet against the Normans.

The Normans.

7. These Normans henceforth have much to do with England. They were Northmen who sailed from Norway under a leader called Rolf, and plundered the coasts of France, and at last settled in the north of the land in 911, in the same way as the Danes had settled in England in Alfred's days. They mixed with the people whom they found there, and learned their language, and so became like the French people. They were great warriors, and pressed up the river Seine; but the Counts of Paris always drove them back, and it was because they fought so well against the Normans that the Counts of Paris became kings of France in the same way as the kings of Wessex became kings of the English, because they rescued the land from the Danes.

Ethelred and the Danes, 1002–1013.

8. Ethelred soon made peace with the Normans and married Emma, sister of their duke. The Danes were ravaging the land, as usual, and the King did a wicked deed against them; for on Saint Brice's day, 1002, he caused all the Danes who had stayed in England to be put to death. This made King Sweyn very angry, and he attacked England more grievously than before. Ethelred could do little against him; for he was no warrior, and his chief men did not obey him, but often plotted with the Danes against him, so that all his plans failed, and there was great misery throughout the land. At last, in 1013, Sweyn came with his son Cnut and a great army. First the men of the North took him for their king; then he compelled the rest of the land to take him also, and Ethelred, with his wife Emma and his two sons, fled to the court of the Norman duke.

9. Early in 1014 Sweyn died, and the Wise Men sent for Ethelred; but the Danes said they would have Sweyn's son Cnut for their king. But Ethelred's son Edmund, called Ironside, fought bravely against Cnut, so that he went back to Denmark. Ethelred, however, had not long to reign, for he died in 1016. Cnut came back to England, and he and Edmund fought which should be king. They made a peace that they should divide the land between them; but Edmund died soon after, and then the English took Cnut for their king.

The Danish conquest, 1013–1016.

10. Thus it came to pass that after all their invasions the Danes at last conquered England; they did so because the English did not hold together, and had few men in whom they could trust to lead them. Cnut was a great king, and ruled over many lands; but he lived in England, and ruled it as became an English king. During his reign the land was at peace, and he made good laws and made men obey them. One strange thing he did: he sent to Normandy and asked in marriage for Emma, who had been wife of Ethelred. So Emma came back to England, but left her children by Ethelred in Normandy, to be brought up by their uncle. Cnut made some changes in the rule of England, for he saw that it needed to be held more closely together. He divided England into four parts, following the chief of the old kingdoms, Northumberland, East Anglia, Marchland, and Wessex. Wessex he ruled himself for a few years; but over the others he set earls, and from this time we hear of earls instead of the old ealdormen. Cnut also kept many followers always about him, who bore arms and were brave soldiers, so that he had a small army of his own, besides that which he could gather from the people. So Cnut was a mighty king and ruled England well, and there was peace in his days.

Cnut, 1016–1035.

CHAPTER III.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

1. ON Cnut's death there was a dispute who should be king. Cnut had willed that his son Harold should rule in England, and that Harthacnut, his son by Emma, should rule in Denmark. But Emma wished that her son Harthacnut, and not Harold, should rule in England. The mightiest man among the English, Godwin—whom Cnut had made Earl of Wessex in 1020—was of the same mind as Emma, and so the South of England did not at first hold to Harold. But Harold died in 1040, and then Harthacnut was king over the whole land. He sent for his half-brother Edward, the son of Emma and Ethelred, to come to England from Normandy; and when Harthacnut died suddenly in 1042, Godwin brought it about that men chose Edward as king.

Harold and Harthacnut, 1035–1042.

2. Edward married Godwin's daughter, and was at first friendly to Godwin and followed his advice in all things. But Edward had been brought up in Normandy, and many Normans came over to England and urged Edward to do things in England in the way in which they were done in Normandy. Also he put many Normans in bishoprics and high places in the land. The English did not like this, but wanted to hold by their old customs, and be ruled by men of their own race. So there were two parties in England, that of the king and his Norman friends, and that of the English, who looked to Godwin as their leader. At last, in 1051, the ill-feeling between the English and Normans led to a quarrel between the men of Dover and the followers of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, who had

Edward the Confessor and the Normans, 1042–1052.

been to visit him. The men of Dover drove him out of their town. The king was angry at this, and bade Godwin punish them. Godwin refused, and was outlawed. He went to Flanders and his son Harold to Ireland, and there they gathered together ships and men. When Godwin was away William, Duke of Normandy, came to see Edward, for they were relations, as Edward's mother Emma was the sister of William's grandfather. Edward had no children, and no nearer kin than nephews, who were the children of Edmund Ironside. It is said that Edward, in his anger against Godwin, promised William that he should succeed him as king of the English; but he had no power to make such promise, for the Wise Men chose the king, though they generally chose the son or near relation of the last king.

3. Soon Godwin came back, and the English gathered round him, and the Normans fled from the land. Amongst those who fled was Robert, a Norman, who had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, and an Englishman, Stigand, was made archbishop in his place. Robert complained to the Pope, and men abroad said that it was an unholy thing of the English to set up another in his place. After this the Normans came back no more while Edward lived.

Godwin drives out the Normans, 1052.

4. In 1053 Godwin died, and his son Harold was made Earl of Wessex in his stead, and was the mightiest man in England; another of Godwin's sons, Tostig, was made Earl of Northumberland. So the race of Godwin was strong, and ruled the land. But Duke William of Normandy still thought of Edward's promise that he should be king of England after his death. One day Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of France, and Duke William got him into his power and made him swear, before he would let him go, that he would help him to be king of England. More-

Godwin's sons, 1053–1066.

over, there arose a quarrel between Tostig and the people of Northumberland, so that they drove him out and set up another earl. The Wise Men judged the quarrel, and outlawed Tostig, who went to Flanders.

5. Edward, who was called the Confessor because he was so pious, died in 1066, and before he died it is said that he repented of his promise to William, and told the Wise Men to choose Harold king. So they chose him, but William determined to fight against him. Many things helped William, for the Pope was on his side, as he thought the English Church did not listen to him so much as it once had done. So the Pope sent William a banner and blessed him, and many folk listened to the Pope. The story also that Harold had broken his oath made men think ill of him. So William was able to gather a large army against him. Moreover, Tostig went to the King of Norway, Harold Hardrada, and asked for help, that he might get back his earldom, and the north king promised to lead an army to England.

Harold made king, 1066.

6. So Harold was no sooner made king than he found himself threatened both from the north and from the south. The first foes that came were Harold Hardrada and Tostig, who landed and defeated the men of the north. Then Harold, Godwin's son, went against them, and the two armies met at Stamford Bridge. Before the battle Harold rode forth and offered Tostig a third of his kingdom. Then Tostig asked, 'What shall be given to Harold of Norway?' And Harold said, 'Seven feet of English ground, or a foot more, for he is taller than common men.' Tostig answered, 'Never shall it be said that Tostig left his friends: we will win the land with our swords or die like men.' Then the fight began, and was long and bloody, but at last the English

Fight against the Danes.

prevailed and Harold Hardrada and Tostig were killed. Then the rest of the Northmen went back home, and Harold was freed from one danger that beset him.

7. But four days after the fight at Stamford Bridge William the Norman landed at Pevensey, and advanced to Hastings. Harold had to hasten southwards, and met him at Senlac, near Hastings. There was fought the great battle which decided the fate of England. Harold drew up his men carefully on a hill behind a palisade of stakes set in the ground, and ordered them not to pass outside this wall. The battle was begun by a Norman minstrel, Taillefer, who rode towards the English singing a song of the deeds of Charles the Emperor, and he slew two Englishmen before he fell himself. The Normans then rushed upon the English, but could not drive them away from their pales. At last William ordered his men to pretend to flee. When the English saw them flee, they forgot the orders of Harold and pursued them. Then the Normans turned and drove them back, and pressed up to the hill-top, where was Harold and his bravest soldiers. Long time they fought, till Harold was wounded in the eye and fell: then the English fled.

Battle of Senlac.

8. The death of Harold left England without anyone to oppose William, for there was no other leader who was strong enough to bring the people together. At first the Wise Men chose for their king Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside; but the great earls of the north, Edwin and Morcar, would not help him. So William took possession of Dover, and then marched slowly through Kent, where men submitted to him. When he reached London, Edgar the Atheling and the chief men saw nothing else to do save to take William for their king and lord. So on Christmas Day, 1066, William was crowned king of

William crowned king, 1066.

the English; and the Normans knew so little of their ways that when the archbishop asked, according to the old custom, if they would have William for their king, and the people shouted 'Yea, yea! King William!' the Normans thought it meant treachery, and set fire to the houses near.

9. Thus the Normans came into England as the Danes had done before. This Norman conquest brings to an end the first part of English history, which was the time when the folks who were afterwards to make up the English people were settling in the land. All over Europe the same sort of thing had been going on after the fall of the Roman Empire. German tribes had been settling one after another, and wave after wave of new settlers kept coming on until nations had got together that were strong enough to hold their own. England took longest in getting itself together, for the English had come in small bodies, and each body of men had settled their own business in the district where they lived. It was good that they did so, for from them we got those ideas of *local self-government* which made the English people fit to govern themselves sooner than any other people. But this spirit of local government prevented the English from holding together enough to drive off their foes. The foreign kings had to teach them how to hold together. Cnut began by dividing the kingdom into earldoms; but these earldoms, after his death, tended to be at variance one against another, and the northern earls did not care to help Harold against William. William the Norman and his sons made England one, so that henceforth it drove back its enemies, and no more foreign conquerors settled in it.

Meaning of the Norman conquest.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT AFTER THE CONQUEST.

1. After William the Norman was crowned king of the English, the people gradually submitted to him. All who submitted kept their lands; but William took the lands of those who had fought against him in the battle of Hastings, whom he looked on as traitors, and gave them to his Norman followers. William had a very difficult part to play when he became king of the English. He was Duke of Normandy, and owed much to the Norman barons who had fought for him. But he wished to make himself stronger as king of the English than he had been as Duke of Normandy, and he could only do so by using the English against the Normans after the conquest, as he had used the Normans against the English before. He did not, therefore, behave as one who had won a kingdom by battle, but aimed at ruling as the rightful king of the English, and by the help of the English people keeping down the power of his Norman barons.

William the Conqueror, 1066-1087.

2. The Normans had entirely learned the ways of the French folk among whom they had settled. Amongst these folk had grown up a system of society which rested on the holding of land, and called the *feudal* system. Every man held his land from a lord, whose man or vassal he became, whom he was bound to follow in war, and who was bound to protect him; the great lords, or *tenants-in-chief*, held their lands directly from the king. This was a natural way at first of holding men together, when there was nothing else that could do so. The same sort of system had grown up in England, as we see in the king's thanes; but it had not gone so far, or been so completely established, in England as in France.

The feudal system.

3. William had seen the evil of this system in France, where the tenants-in-chief paid little heed to the king, but ruled their own lands almost as they chose, and oppressed their vassals. Moreover, their vassals looked upon themselves as the men of their lord, and not the king's men. So feudalism, instead of holding men closer together, prevented the nation from forming into one, and set up separate customs and rights in every district. William had no other means of governing England except through the barons in this feudal way. He was bound to reward his Norman followers, and he granted to them all the lands that came to him. As the English rose against him—for they did not like his stern rule—they lost their lands. The Normans often married English heiresses, and in one way or another, gradually, almost all the land in England changed hands, and passed from the English to the Normans. William regarded all land as held in the feudal way. But he wished to check the evils of this system, and therefore kept up the old free institutions of the English—their shire courts and all that had to do with local government. He made the Norman barons less powerful in England than they were in Normandy; for he let no man hold much land together, and he made everyone who held land take an oath of obedience to himself, whether he held land directly from him or from some lord. Moreover, William saw the evil of the great earldoms which Cnut had set up, and which Edward had kept. He made very few earldoms, only on the border lands for defence, but governed the counties by sheriffs, whom he chose himself, and made all barons attend the sheriffs' courts. In this way William set up a state of things which he hoped would make the king strong, and would avoid the evils which he had seen both in England and Normandy.

William and his barons.

4. It was not to be expected that William would carry out his plans peacefully. The English found many hardships from their Norman lords, who were much stricter than their former lords had been; and though William tried to deal justly, yet, when he was away in Normandy, those who ruled in his name treated the people harshly. Hence there were risings against William, and the Danes came to help the English, but William bribed them to depart. The men of the north were especially dangerous, for the discontented English fled into the Lothians and took refuge with the Scottish king, Malcolm. But William was very stern in reducing them to order, and passed the winter of 1069 in the north, in which time he laid waste the land and turned it almost into a desert for sixty miles, that his foes might not be able to use it against him. After this the English gradually submitted; but some, under a brave leader, Hereward, held out in the fen country near Ely, and gave William much trouble before he could subdue them. In 1072 William entered Scotland, and made Malcolm submit also.

Risings against William, 1066–1072.

5. No sooner were the English reduced to obedience than the Norman barons began to rebel against William. They did not like having less power in England than they had in Normandy; they did not like to see King William grow so strong as to be able to bring them under the laws. At last two of the barons, the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford, plotted against William, and tried to get Waltheof, Earl of Nottingham, the last of the English earls, to join them. Though Waltheof did not help them, still, when their revolt was put down, he was put to death as a traitor (1076). Men said that William was glad to rid himself of the last of the great Englishmen. The discontent of the Norman barons showed itself in stirring up William's

Plots of the barons, 1072–1087.

eldest son, Robert, to rebel against his father. Robert claimed that the duchy of Normandy should be given to him, and many of the barons and the King of France helped him. So William seldom had peace in all his dominions.

6. William was a strong man, who knew how to rule, and made men obey him. His chief adviser was an Italian, Lanfranc, who had lived long in Normandy, and whom William made Archbishop of Canterbury. All the English bishoprics and abbeys were given to Normans, many of whom were learned and good men, and brought the English Church into greater order. The coming of William put the Church in England in closer union with the Church of Rome, for William had come with the Pope's blessing to reform the Church. Still he would not let any of the rights of the old kings pass into the hands of the Pope, as the Pope had hoped. He meant to keep all the power in his own hands, and would not let any of the clergy make laws for themselves without his consent. In one way, however, he increased the power of the clergy; he set up law courts for bishops and archdeacons, in which they might judge ecclesiastical cases according to the law of the Church. In former times the bishops had sat with the ealdormen in the courts of the shire, and questions which concerned the Church had been tried there as well as others. At first this change was good, as the law of the Church was milder, and in many things wiser, than the common law; but in later times this separation of the clergy from other folk did much mischief.

William and the Church.

7. William died while warring against the King of France, and few men mourned for him; for William, though a wise ruler, was hard and stern, and men were afraid of him. The English found his rule harsh, for he made them pay heavy

William's government.

taxes, both those which they had paid to their former kings and those which were due to himself according to the new system by which the king was supreme landlord. That he might know about the land, and how much money and how many soldiers he could raise from it, he sent into each shire officers, who enquired from chosen men from each shire about the state of the land. Thus he had a record which men called the Domesday Book, for they said that it would last till the day of doom, or judgment. By such means as this William set up a strong government, in spite of all the difficulties which beset him. He made the power of the king great, and made all men obey it.

8. When he died his friend Lanfranc crowned his son William, who was called the Red from the colour of his hair. There was no rule in England that the eldest son should succeed his father as king, and William I. had wished that his second son, William, should follow him, and not Robert. The Norman barons supported Robert; but William promised good government to the English, and they and Lanfranc stood by him, so that Robert's cause was unsuccessful. So long as Lanfranc lived things went on well, but when he died, in 1089, William II.'s bad qualities showed themselves. He soon had no one to fear, as Robert went on a crusade, and the barons who were on his side lost their lands in England and fled to Normandy. William II. was a strong ruler, like his father, but he had no care for religion and virtue, broke all the promises which he had made to the people, and only strove to get from them all the money he could. His chief adviser was Ranulf Flambard, whom he made Bishop of Durham, and by his advice he pushed his feudal powers to the uttermost, especially over the lands of the Church. When a bishop or abbot died he did

William II., the Red, 1087–1100.

not choose another in his place, but kept the Church lands himself. So after Lanfranc's death there was no archbishop made for four years, till the king had a severe illness, and, thinking he was going to die, made a holy man, Anselm, archbishop (1093). This Anselm was, like Lanfranc, an Italian who had lived in Normandy, and happened to be in England on a visit. So great was his fame for goodness and learning, that the king was moved to appoint him. But when William II. recovered from his illness, he did not wish to have anyone to check him, so he annoyed Anselm in every way, till he fled from England (1097), for he was a quiet and gentle man, who could not hold his own against the king. When Anselm was gone William II. oppressed his people without any restraint, so that men groaned under his tyranny.

9. Like his father, William II. was very fond of the chase, and was killed by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest (1100). His younger brother, Henry, was hunting with him, and rode away at once and had himself crowned king. Robert was still away on the crusade, but Henry was afraid that many barons might be on Robert's side, so he wished at least to gain the English. He promised to undo all the wrong that William II. had done, and he wrote down in a charter his promises to govern according to the old laws. This charter was the first of a long series of such like promises made by English kings, and it was by means of these charters that the English people set up their liberty against the great power of the Crown. It was well for England that the sons of William I. had to win their way to the throne by promises to the people; otherwise the old liberties might have been set aside and forgotten.

Henry I.'s charter, 1100.

10. Henry I. had been born in England, and wished

to reign as an English king. So he married the daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, and Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling, who was of the old English blood. He punished Flambard, brought back Anselm, and gave the Church its old rights. When, in 1101, Robert came back, the English held by Henry I., and the discontented barons supported Robert. In 1106 Robert was defeated and taken prisoner at Tenchebrai, in Normandy; but the fighting still lasted against the rebellious barons, who were not reduced to obedience till 1118.

Henry I. and Robert, 1100–1106.

CHAPTER V.

THE CROWN AND THE BARONS.

1. In this struggle against the barons the English people and the clergy stood by the king. Henry I. saw that England could not be governed through the barons, and set to work to form a special class of ministers who would owe everything to the king, and would carry out a system of administration under him. So he raised up a number of new families, who held offices under the Crown, and were not too strong to be brought to justice if they did wrong. His chief adviser in all his plans was a poor Norman priest, Roger, whom the king made Bishop of Salisbury. Roger set in order all the machinery of government, such as the King's Court, in which the king and the officers of his household settled all the matters which were too great for the shire courts to settle. This court of the king still remains as the Privy Council, and from

Henry I.'s government, 1107–1135.

it sprung the law courts at Westminster. Roger set in order also the king's revenue, and established the Court of Exchequer; he sent the Barons of the Exchequer on journeys through the land, to decide disputes about the king's revenue. These barons met the men of the shire in the shire court, and in this way a great step was taken towards the state of things that made Parliament possible. For the men of the shire could give their advice or make their complaints to the king's officers, and this was the beginning of *representatives*, or chosen men, from the shires and towns having a share in the government of the kingdom.

Henry I. and the Church.

2. Henry kept order throughout the land, yet men feared rather than loved him, for, like his father, he was a hard man. The only man who withstood him was Anselm, who claimed for the Church greater freedom than the king could grant; for he claimed that the clergy should not be invested by a layman with the lands of their churches. Both Anselm and the king at last gave way a little; but this struggle was the first that the clergy carried on against the king, and for the next hundred years the clergy are the only class that could stand against the excessive power of the king.

Stephen and the barons, 1135–1139.

3. Henry hoped that he had set up a strong government for his son to carry out; but his only son, William, was drowned on his way home from Normandy, in 1120. Henry had a daughter, Matilda, who had been married to the Emperor Henry V., and afterwards to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. The king wished that Matilda should succeed him, and made all the barons and clergy take an oath to be faithful to her. But when Henry I. died in 1135, the barons were unwilling to have a woman for their ruler, and the Normans did not like the Angevins, or men of Anjou. So they took as their king Stephen, Count of Boulogne,

a son of Henry's sister, Adela. Stephen made good promises, but he was nothing more than a good-natured soldier, and did not know how to rule. He let go all the wise measures of Henry I. and allowed the barons to do as they liked. Then it was that the English folk felt what it was to be under the power of feudal lords. Everywhere the barons built castles—more than 1,100 were built altogether—and from these castles they plundered the people at their pleasure. Stephen was foolish, and quarrelled with Bishop Roger of Salisbury, and drove him from his office. Then the disorders of the land became greater; the clergy went against the king. Matilda came to England, and in 1139 civil war began.

4. The barons did not care who they fought for, but only wished to gain power for themselves; and the misery of the people became so great that we are told 'men said openly that Christ slept and his saints.' Matilda and Stephen were alike helpless to mend matters; but at last Matilda's son, Henry, made peace with Stephen at Wallingford, in 1153, on condition that Stephen should rule as long as he lived, and then Henry should succeed him. Next year Stephen died, and Henry II. was welcomed with delight as one who was strong enough to bring back order and again set up law. The reign of Stephen had shown the miseries which the feudal system, if left unchecked, would bring upon the people, and men were ready to help the new king not only to set up the old checks upon the barons which William I. and Henry I. had set up, but also to add new ones.

Civil war, 1139–1153.

5. When Henry II. became king of England he already ruled over wide lands, for from his mother he inherited Normandy, from his father Anjou, and he had married Eleanor, the heiress of the great duchy of Guienne. He was a man made to rule, for he was always busy, and was very

Henry II.'s reforms, 1154–1162.

resolute in all that he undertook. He was resolved to govern England as an English king, and lost no time in setting right the abuses of Stephen's reign. The unlawful castles of the barons were pulled down ; the foreign soldiers whom Stephen had brought into the land were driven out ; the barons were compelled to give back the Crown lands which Stephen and Matilda had granted them. The law courts were again set at work, sheriffs were put to govern the counties, and Henry II. set himself to amend the laws and have them properly administered. For the first ten years all went well with Henry II. ; then he became engaged in a quarrel with the Archbishop of Canterbury, which brought him much evil.

Henry II. and Thomas Becket. 1162-1170.

6. This archbishop was Thomas Becket, who had been Henry's friend and counsellor, and whom Henry made archbishop that he might help him in carrying out his reforms in Church matters. But Becket, when he became archbishop, thought that he ought to serve the Church more than the king, and Henry II. became very angry when he found out this. He wished to simplify the law, and to do away with many abuses that had arisen from the ecclesiastical courts which William I. had set up to try the clergy. He wished to have the clergy tried before the king's courts, that so they might be punished, like other men, for their offences. Thomas at first agreed, when all the other bishops did, but afterwards refused to consent to this change. Then the king summoned him before a great council, held at Northampton, but Thomas refused to answer to the charges made against him, and said he could only be judged by the Pope. So great was the king's anger against him that Thomas fled in disguise to France, and called on the Pope to help him. But the Pope did not dare to oppose so powerful a king as

Henry II., and for six years Becket remained in exile. But Henry II. had many enemies in his large dominions, who plucked up courage when they saw the king in difficulties; so at last he judged it wise to make peace with Thomas and let him return to England. The archbishop had grown sterner in his exile, and at once, on landing in England, excommunicated the bishops who had gone most against him. When Henry II., who was in Normandy, heard of this, he burst into a furious passion, and exclaimed, 'Will none of my cowardly followers rid me from this insolent priest?' Four knights took the king's words to heart; they hastened to Canterbury, urged the archbishop to obey the king, and when he refused they returned with arms and slew him in the cathedral itself, where he had gone for refuge (1170).

7. The news of this murder filled men with horror, and helped Henry II.'s enemies. Already the quarrel with the archbishop had encouraged the barons to raise their heads. Henry II. had had his son Henry crowned, to make it clear that he was to succeed in England, however his other lands might be divided. The barons persuaded the young Henry to rebel against his father; the King of France invaded Normandy, and the King of Scotland marched into England (1173). Henry II. was in great danger; but he made peace with the Church, did penance at the tomb of the murdered Thomas, and called the people to his aid. The people had learned from Stephen's reign to trust the king rather than the barons. The King of Scots, William the Lion, was taken prisoner at Alnwick, the rebellious barons were defeated, and Henry's sons were driven to submit. The king became more powerful than before.

Risings against Henry II., 1170–1173.

8. Just after Becket's death, Henry made an expedi-

tion to Ireland, and at this time the connexion between England and Ireland began. The people of Ireland were the same kind of people as the Britons, and in early times Ireland had been flourishing; but the Northmen laid it waste, and it had become barbarous. The land was divided, and there were many small kings, who strove against one another for mastery. Their struggles led one of them to seek help from England, and the Earl of Pembroke especially had warred in Ireland and had become very powerful. Already Henry II. had thought of conquering Ireland, and had got the Pope to approve of his doing so, on the ground that he was going to give order and peace. So in 1171 Henry II. went over and took possession of the lands which had been won; but he soon went away, and the island was never wholly conquered. The chiefs submitted to Henry II., but they kept their old laws and customs, and the English really held only the country along the east coast. English adventurers conquered as much country as they could, and all the evils of feudalism, which it had taken so much trouble to put down in England, flourished unchecked in Ireland. The Irish were never brought into entire submission, and the English barons grew lawless, and often took the Irish laws and customs. For a long time Ireland was little cared for by the English kings, and was a scene of continual war and disorder.

Conquest of Ireland, 1171.

9. In England Henry II. did much to make the government better and stronger. He made the justices of the King's Council sheriffs in the counties, and so lessened the power of the barons; he sent round *itinerant justices* to try wrong-doers, and made changes in the law, by which twelve chosen men, called jurors, were to bear witness in trials. At first these men were chosen because they were likely to know the

Henry II.'s government.

facts; in time they came to summon others who knew better than themselves, and so the jury which tries prisoners at the present day sprung up. Henry II. also caused all men to carry arms according to their possessions, that they might fight in England, and from this comes our militia. In every way Henry II. strengthened the old customs, and brought the local government of the shire into closer connexion with the King's Council, and thus prepared the way for Parliament.

10. The last years of Henry II. were made bitter by the rebellion of his sons and of his wife Eleanor, who were helped by the King of France; and at last he died of a broken heart (1189), at learning that his favourite son, John, had also turned against him. His son Richard I., who succeeded him, was nothing but a soldier, whose one desire was to go for adventures to the Crusades. He only looked on England as a place from which money could be raised, and went off to the Holy Land, where he wrought brave deeds that became famous. Henry II. had trained up a class of wise ministers, who ruled England during the king's absence; and though John plotted against his brother he did not succeed. On his way back from the Holy Land, Richard I. was shipwrecked, and was made prisoner by the Duke of Austria. England was heavily taxed to pay his ransom; but when Richard returned, he only wanted more money to carry on war against the King of France. He was killed by a chance shot of an arrow while besieging the little castle of Chaluz, which he believed contained some money. Richard did little for England; but the Crusades took away many barons to the Holy Land, and their need of money made them sell many of their possessions, and so lessened their power. The king's absence also showed the strength of the system of government which Henry II. had established, and made

Richard I., 1189–1199.

men feel more confidence in themselves. Towns had been growing in power and number, and Henry II. had given many charters to them, which allowed them to appoint their own magistrates and collect their own taxes. Richard I. and the barons who followed him to the Crusade had sold many such charters as a means of raising money. In every way the institutions of Henry II. had strengthened the people as much as they had put down the barons. It only needed the reign of another king, who tried to follow in the steps of William II., to unite people and barons against the tyranny of the Crown.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREAT CHARTER.

John's loss of Normandy, 1199–1204.

1. WHEN John succeeded his brother, it is said that the archbishop, Hubert Walter, at the coronation, asked the people if they would have John for their king, and when they answered 'Yes,' adjured John to be true to his coronation oath. The archbishop seems to have known how faithless John was, and tried to give him a lesson. But it availed nothing, and John's reign was nothing but disaster and tyranny. First of all he lost Normandy; for the King of France was now growing stronger against his vassals, and wishing to weaken John, stirred up Arthur, son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey, to claim Normandy. Arthur was taken prisoner by John, who is said to have drowned him in the Seine (1203). Then the King of France summoned him to answer for his deed, and when John refused, he sent his troops into Normandy. The

Norman barons gradually left John's side, for they did not like being ruled by one of the house of Anjou. John could do nothing, and in 1204 Normandy and Anjou were both lost. This loss of Normandy was most useful for England, as it cut off the English barons from Normandy and made them altogether Englishmen; also it cut off the king from foreign possessions, and left him to settle matters with the English people only.

2. John was a violent, cruel, and crafty man, but he had no real wisdom. In 1205 his wisest adviser, Archbishop Hubert Walter, died, and there was a quarrel who should succeed him as archbishop. John chose one man, the monks of Canterbury another; both parties appealed to the Pope, who caused the monks of Canterbury to elect a third, Stephen Langton, a wise and learned Englishman, who was living in Rome. John refused to let Langton come into England, and the quarrel with the Pope lasted some years. At last, in 1208, the Pope put the kingdom under an interdict—that is, he forbade the clergy to perform any of the services of the Church. John, in anger, seized the lands of the clergy who obeyed it, and many of the bishops fled from the kingdom. In 1211 the Pope threatened to declare that John's subjects need no more obey him, and to call on Philip, King of France, to lead a crusade against the unchristian king. Then John became afraid, for he had oppressed the barons and the people, and he knew that few would be on his side. He passed at once from haughtiness to entire submission to the Pope, and in 1213 agreed to take Langton as archbishop, and pay back the money which he had taken from the Church. Moreover, to be safe from Philip of France, he gave up his crown to the Pope, and took it back again as a vassal of the Pope, to whom he promised to pay tribute.

John's quarrel with the Pope, 1205–1213.

3. The people were indignant at this; for though they

loved the Church, yet they did not wish to see their king humble himself before a foreign power like the Pope. Discontent grew against the king; and when he wished to lead an army against the King of France, the barons refused to go, for they said that they were not bound to serve out of England. To try and settle matters Archbishop Langton caused a meeting of the Great Council to be held at St. Albans in 1213, to which, besides the barons, went chosen men from the townships on the king's domain. This is the first instance of representatives attending a national council. The government of Henry II. had made it seem quite natural that men should be called from different parts of the land to give information when it was needed by the Council. Many things were said in this and other meetings of the Council about the old laws of Henry I., and the need there was that John should promise to obey them. In 1214 John went abroad, and hoped that a great victory over the French would again make him powerful. He had brought about a great confederacy of Germany, Flanders, and England, which he hoped would crush France; but at the battle of Bouvines Philip defeated the combined army of these three powers. John had to come back and meet his barons. During his absence the barons and clergy had held many meetings under the guidance of the good Archbishop Langton, and had drawn out a list of the things they wanted to have set right, and had put them in the form of a charter, such as Henry I. had given. The barons, clergy, and people were alike against John, and he was obliged to submit. At Runnymede, a meadow by the Thames, near Windsor, John met his barons, and signed the Great Charter (June 1215). There was nothing very new in this charter; but its importance lay in the fact that clergy, barons, and people were all united to defend their liberties. It was

The struggle for the Charter, 1213–1215.

a treaty between the king and his people; and it was for the good of all classes, for it bound the barons to treat those under them as it bound the king to treat the barons.

4. The Charter laid down that the Church should be free, and that the king and all lords were not to go beyond their feudal rights towards their vassals. The king was not to raise money except by the consent of the Great Council, to which the greater barons were to be summoned by name, the lesser by means of a writ sent to the sheriffs of each shire. Justice was to be properly administered, and no freeman was to be punished except by judgment of his peers, or equals, or by the law of the land. Twenty-five barons were to be chosen by the rest to see that this Charter was carried out; if not, they were to make war against the king.

The Great Charter.

5. John signed this Charter, but never meant to keep it. The Pope helped John, now that he was his vassal, and set aside the Charter. John hired troops from abroad, and war began. The barons were worsted, and wishing for help, offered the crown to Lewis, son of King Philip of France. Lewis and the barons were too strong for John at first; but his death, in 1216, saved England from the chance of having another foreign king. John left a son, Henry, who was but nine years old. Those who acted for him were wise enough to accept the Great Charter, with a few alterations. The papal legate crowned Henry III., and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, a wise old statesman in whom men trusted, was made 'ruler of the king and kingdom.' The side of Henry III. was soon felt to be the national side; the barons and Lewis quarrelled. Lewis' troops, which were besieging Lincoln Castle, were defeated, and the ships which were bringing fresh troops from France were overcome in a sea battle by Hubert

The barons and France, 1215–1217.

de Burgh. So, in 1217, Lewis left England, and men settled down contented with the Charter they had won.

6. The Charter had been won, but it was not so easy to get it observed. William Marshall lived just long enough to bring back peace to the land; he died in 1219, and the man who carried on the government was Hubert de Burgh, an official who had been trained under Henry II. Hubert set himself to rid the land of the foreign adventurers whom John had brought to England, and to free the government from papal interference. By strictness and wise measures he won back England for the English. But men did not love him; and when Henry III. was old enough to manage affairs himself, he dismissed Hubert de Burgh from power.

Hubert de Burgh, 1217–1232.

7. Henry III. was quite unfit to govern; though not cruel or tyrannical, he was weak, and did not know his own mind. He was also deceitful and suspicious, so that no one could trust him. He was fond of power, and liked to make great plans which he had no means of carrying out. From 1234 to 1258 Henry III was his own chief minister, and governed the land very ill: he greatly angered the barons, for he seldom asked their advice, but brought foreign favourites into England, relations of his wife or of his mother, who enriched themselves at the expense of the English. Moreover, Henry III. was very pious; and as the Popes at this time were carrying on wars for which they needed money, Henry III. allowed them to tax the English clergy as they pleased, and to put Italian priests into English benefices. Men endured this for a long time, for Henry III. made many promises, and broke them when he could. At last the barons resolved to rid the land of foreign favourites and papal tax-gatherers. Their great leader was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who had himself come to England as a foreign

Henry III.'s misgovernment, 1232–1258.

adventurer in 1232, and had married the king's sister Eleanor. The king soon quarrelled with him, and Simon more and more opposed his brother-in-law.

8. At last, in 1258, the barons resolved to put matters right; they compelled the king to give twenty-four barons the power to reform the government. Half of these twenty-four were chosen by the king, half by the barons in Parliament, for by this name the National Council began at this time to be called. Parliament met at Oxford, and Henry III. was obliged to agree to its decrees, which were called the 'Provisions of Oxford.' The barons lost no time in taking away the power of the foreign favourites, most of whom fled from the land. But the barons could not make many real reforms; they began to quarrel amongst themselves. The Pope released Henry III. from his oath to keep the provisions, and in 1261 he began to govern again for himself. The barons still opposed him, and an attempt was made to settle their differences by an appeal to the King of France, Lewis IX., who was so holy a man that he is called St. Lewis. Lewis decided in favour of Henry III., and war broke out. In 1264 Simon de Montfort defeated and captured the king at Lewes, and then set himself to govern the land in the king's name. He wished to govern well, and saw the great use of Parliament to strengthen his government. The custom, which had grown up under John, of summoning to the National Council, besides the barons, men from each shire, had been carried out more and more. Simon de Montfort went further, and summoned also to Parliament, in 1265, representatives from the towns; so this Parliament was the first that had in it what a Parliament of the present day has. But though Simon might try to found his power on Parliament, it was difficult for him to govern in the king's name while keeping the king a prisoner in his

The barons' war, 1258–1267.

hands. Some of the barons took offence at him. Henry III.'s son, Edward, escaped, and raised an army, with which he surprised Simon on his way back from Wales, at Evesham. Simon was slain in the battle, August 1265. Still the war went on, until fair terms were granted. Henry III. had conquered because the people did not like to see the king set aside altogether; but Henry III. and his son knew that their victory had been hardly won, and must be used with moderation. Henry III. soon died, in 1272, and his son, Edward I., showed how fully he had learned the lessons which Simon de Montfort had taught.

9. Edward I. is one of the greatest of the English kings. He was wise enough to see what were the needs of his people; and though he liked to keep the power in his own hands, when once he gave way he was honest in fulfilling his promises. During the reign of Henry III. knowledge had been spreading in England, and the people knew better what they wanted their king to do. This increase of knowledge was greatly due to the spread of the Franciscans, or followers of a holy man, St. Francis of Assisi, a little town in Central Italy. Francis had taught the power and the duty of Christian love, and his followers rapidly spread and worked zealously among the people. Also they became teachers at the Universities, especially at Oxford, and learning gradually increased. The barons' war had made people think and talk about the way of carrying on government more than they had done before. The great merit of Edward I. was that he saw this, and did his best to improve the laws, to strengthen the government, and, above all, to make Parliament more fit to share in governing.

Results of the barons' war.

10. Edward I. showed himself also to be a national king in his desire to bring the whole of the island under

his sway. Wales, which had never been conquered by the English, had since the Norman conquest been gradually growing less before the power of the barons on the Marches. South Wales had gradually been conquered, and the Prince of Wales had been driven to do homage to the English king. When Edward I. was crowned, Llewellyn, the Prince of Wales, refused to do him homage. In 1277 Edward made war on Wales and drove Llewellyn to submit; but in 1282 Llewellyn and his brother David again rose in rebellion. This time Edward was determined to bring the war to an end. Llewellyn was killed in battle; David was taken prisoner, brought to trial before a Parliament at Shrewsbury, and condemned to death as a traitor. Edward set Wales in order, divided it into shires, like England, and brought in many of the English laws. He did not, however, join it to England, but gave to his eldest son the title of Prince of Wales, which since then has been the title of the king's eldest son. Wales remained separate from England till Henry VIII., in 1536, gave it the right of sending members to Parliament.

Edward I. and Wales, 1272–1282.

11. After conquering Wales, Edward I. found himself soon led on to try and conquer Scotland also. It was uncertain whether, or how far, the kings of Scotland were subject to the kings of England. The old land of the Scots was that north of the Clyde and the Forth; but in 945 the English king, Edmund, had granted Strathclyde to the King of the Scots, and soon after that Lothian was also granted. After the coming of the Normans into England, many of the English fled into Lothian, and their influence was powerful with the Scottish king. Gradually the land south of the Clyde and the Forth became the most important part of the dominions of the Scottish king. Thither went many Norman barons, who slowly displaced

England and Scotland.

the old nobles, and brought in their own feudal customs. Thus Scotland had been affected by the Norman conquest almost as much as England, and had been drawn closer to England in consequence. Many men held lands both under the English and the Scottish king; the Scottish kings also frequently held English baronies. The Scottish kings had done homage to various English kings, and at the coronation of Edward I., Alexander III., King of Scotland, paid him homage, and also again in 1278. But the question what this homage really meant had never yet been raised, till it happened that Edward I. was driven to raise it.

The Scottish succession, 1286–1293.

12. Alexander III., King of Scotland, died in 1286, leaving only a young grand-daughter, Margaret, whose mother had been married to Eric, King of Norway. Things were disturbed in Scotland, and the guardians of the kingdom turned to Edward I. for advice. A treaty was made in 1290, by which it was agreed that Margaret was to be married to Edward I.'s son; but this came to nothing by Margaret's death at Orkney, on her way to Scotland, a few months later. Then many of the barons claimed the crown, and as it was difficult to settle whose claim was the best. Edward I. was asked to decide the matter. Edward demanded that he should first be recognised as feudal lord of Scotland, and to this the Scottish nobles agreed. Then Edward gathered all the evidence he could, and summoned his barons to help him to decide. Out of thirteen claimants he adjudged the crown to John Baliol, as being nearest of kin by descent to Alexander III. Baliol did homage to Edward, and was crowned king in 1292. But troubles soon arose, for some of the Scots called on Edward I., as feudal lord of Scotland, to listen to appeals from the Scottish law courts. Edward was by nature a lawyer, and himself recognised as Duke of

Aquitaine, the feudal power of the King of France. So he exercised the same power over Scotland, and summoned Baliol to answer appeals against him in the court at Westminster. This was galling to Baliol, who refused to answer for his doings to a foreign king.

13. At the same time that this difficulty arose with Scotland, Edward I. was drawn into a war with France. The English sailors and the Norman sailors quarrelled in the Channel, and in 1293 the English won a battle at sea, and avenged themselves on the French. On this the French king, Philip, called Edward I. to account, because some Gascon sailors had fought with the English, and Edward, as lord of Gascony, was responsible to the King of France. To avoid war, Edward I. sent his brother Edmund to settle matters. Edmund was induced to give up Gascony for forty days to satisfy the French king's honour; but at the end of that time Gascony was not given back, and war was unavoidable.

Quarrel with France, 1293.

14. To meet these difficulties Edward I. needed money. He trusted his people, and believed rightly that they would give money most freely if he dealt with them openly. So he called together in 1295 a Parliament, which was to represent all the classes, or estates, of the realm. This Parliament of 1295 was a model Parliament, and was founded on the same ideas as our Parliament of the present day. In calling it together, Edward I. laid down the great principle on which Parliament rests, that 'what touches all should be approved by all.' He called to it the various classes of his subjects—the greater clergy and barons, representatives of the lesser clergy, two knights elected by every shire, and two burghers elected by every borough. Up to this time Parliament had been the council of the king's feudal tenants, to which men had been called from the shire

Parliament of 1295.

courts and the boroughs. Edward I. made Parliament much more than this; he made it a national council, in which the greater clergy and barons sat themselves, and the other estates of the realm sat by representatives. In this way it may be said that Edward I. first clearly set forth the great constitutional principles on which our parliamentary government was established. Things had tended gradually to bring this about, but the wisdom and patriotism of Edward I. first gave the system a clear and definite shape.

15. The war with France was not very successful, and at last matters were settled in 1303 by the Pope's mediation, and Gascony was given back to England. But this war led to an alliance between France and Scotland, which lasted till the time of the Reformation. Scotland looked for help against the power of England, which threatened its national independence, and France was glad to have an ally so conveniently placed to annoy England in time of need. In 1296 the War of Scottish Independence began, and lasted till 1328. At first Edward was successful; the Scots gave way before him, Baliol submitted, an Englishman, Earl Warenne, was set up as guardian of the kingdom, and Edward returned to carry on his war against France.

France and Scotland, 1296

16. For this he sorely needed money, and proceeded to raise it in oppressive ways. First he demanded much money from the clergy, and when they refused he withdrew from them the protection of the king's law courts until they gave way. Then he seized on the wool of the merchants, and took it as a loan. The barons alone were strong enough to withstand the king; they stood on their feudal rights, and refused to follow him in his expedition abroad. Moreover, when Edward was abroad in 1297, they forced his

Confirmation of the Charters, 1297.

young son to confirm and strengthen the old Charters, and to add some new clauses, one of which said that no new taxes should be taken without the common consent and goodwill. Edward I. was true to his word, and when he had been compelled to sign this, he loyally accepted it. This confirmation of the Charters marks the end of the struggle that had begun in John's time. The power of self-taxation was now clearly laid down. Parliament, which Edward I. had recognised as representative of the nation, was for the future to decide what burdens the nation could bear.

17. The rest of Edward I.'s reign was taken up with the affairs of Scotland. In 1297 William Wallace, the son of a Scottish knight, gathered together a body of men discontented with the English rule, and did a few brave deeds against the English. Warenne went against him, but allowed his army to be divided in crossing the Forth near Stirling, and was entirely defeated. On this the Scots gathered round Wallace, who ruled the land as guardian till, in 1298, Edward I. defeated him at Falkirk with a large army. But Edward I. was obliged to withdraw and turn his attention to other matters, and did not come back till 1303, when Scotland was conquered for the second time. Wallace, who had refused to surrender to the king's mercy, was taken prisoner, and executed as a traitor in 1305. But peace did not last long; for in 1306 Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant of the Scottish crown whose right was best after Baliol, fled from the English court and got himself crowned King of Scotland. At first his chances seemed small; the Scots did not rise to help him; he was defeated by the English troops, and wandered as an adventurer. Again Edward I. advanced to Scotland—no longer mild and gentle, as he had been before, but putting to death most of the Scottish nobles

War with Scotland, 1297–1307.

who fell into his hands. He did not live to reach Scotland, but died at Burgh by the Sands, near Carlisle, in 1307.

CHAPTER VII.

RISE OF THE COMMONS.

Edward II. and his favourites, 1307–1312.

1. EDWARD II. had none of the great qualities of his father. He paid no heed to ruling his kingdom, but cared only for pleasures and amusements, and neglected all business. He began his reign by recalling a worthless friend of his, Piers Gaveston, whom Edward I. had banished. The nobles found themselves neglected by the king and treated with insolence by Gaveston. Early in 1308 they demanded that Gaveston should be banished, and Edward II. with reluctance sent him to be regent of Ireland. Without Gaveston Edward II. could do nothing, for his father's old ministers had been driven away by his ill treatment. The government fell into disorder, and the Parliament of 1309 brought up a long list of grievances, which the king promised to redress. No sooner had he got money in this way than he recalled Gaveston, who behaved as ill as before. The barons assembled in arms in 1310, and compelled the king to give up the government to a commission, called the Lords Ordainers, which was to make reforms. The king gave his consent to these reforms, amongst which was the banishment of Gaveston in 1311, but a few months afterwards he set aside the ordinance about Gaveston. Then the barons took up arms, and, with the help of the king's uncle, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, beheaded Gaveston in 1312.

2. Meanwhile in Scotland Bruce had been gaining ground, and at last, in 1314, he had won most of the strongholds in the land, and was besieging Stirling. Edward II. was roused to try and prevent its fall, and led a large army to its relief. Bruce chose his ground well, and the English were entirely defeated in the battle of Bannockburn. This was the last attempt on the part of England. Scottish independence was henceforth established, though it was not till 1328 that England admitted it and made peace.

England and Scotland, 1314–1328.

3. The rest of Edward II.'s reign was full of troubles. His government was feeble; men were discontented; the ministers whom the king trusted, Hugh le Despenser and his son, were disliked for their avarice and arrogance; Thomas of Lancaster grew more and more powerful as the head of the barons. In 1321 charges were brought against the Despensers in Parliament, and they were condemned to banishment. But Edward II. took up arms; Lancaster was taken prisoner, and was beheaded as a rebel at his own castle of Pomfret in 1322; Edward II. was glad to serve him as he had served Gaveston. After this victory Edward II. became more and more reckless; the Despensers were more oppressive, and the barons, left without any definite head, took to plotting against the king. Queen Isabella, wearied of her husband, took to plotting against him too. She went to France in 1325 to settle a dispute between her brother the King of France and Edward II., and in 1326 landed in England, declaring that she came to avenge Earl Thomas and overthrow the Despensers. Most of the nobles and bishops joined her side; Edward II. fled, but was captured, with the younger Despenser, who was at once put to death. The revolution was finished by the Parliament of 1327, which declared that Edward II. was incapable of governing;

Fall of Edward II., 1327.

his young son Edward was hailed as king, and the unhappy Edward II. was prevailed upon to consent to his son's election. Eight months afterwards the deposed king was murdered in Berkeley Castle (1327).

4. But the country was no better governed by Isabella and her favourite, Mortimer, till in 1330 Edward III. took things into his own hands. He was warlike, fond of glory and display, and had little care for ruling his people well. But the war which he began with France took up all the energy of England for the next hundred years. It brought much misery on both countries, and cost much blood and money, which were spent on a useless cause. Still, in these wars England learned to feel fully the national unity which Edward I. had set on a sure basis; she learned also her strength and her importance among the nations of Europe. Moreover, the pressing need of money which these wars brought upon the king enabled Parliament to exercise the powers which had been granted to it, and which in quieter times might have been lost.

Edward III., 1327–377.

5. The war with France had its beginning in Scotland. Edward III. did not long remain at peace with Scotland, and in 1333 had won back Lothian and set up Edward Baliol as vassal king of the rest. The Scots stubbornly resisted, and Philip VI. of France helped them, and attacked Guienne. He hoped to use the Scots against the English while he conquered the English possessions in France. Edward III. prepared for war, and, to gain allies more easily, made out that through his mother, Isabella, he himself had a claim to the French crown. England carried on a great wool trade with Flanders, and the Flemish towns joined Edward's side more readily when they could fight for him as their rightful king. The war began in 1337,

War with France, 1337–1346.

and was at first carried on from the side of Flanders, without much success. In 1340 Edward III. won a great sea fight at Sluys, which did much to establish the English supremacy over the Channel. In 1346 was fought the battle of Cressy, which was won by the superiority of the English archers to the feudal forces of France. After this battle Edward III. besieged and took Calais, which he fortified and filled with Englishmen, and which remained in the hands of England till the reign of Mary. In the same year the Scots, who had attacked England, were defeated at Neville's Cross, near Durham, and their king, David, was made prisoner and kept in England for eleven years.

6. Everything seemed prosperous for Edward III.; but in 1348 came a great plague on England, called the Black Death, which killed nearly half the population. This terrible loss doubled the rate of wages, and made it hard to get the land tilled at all. In this time of distress men murmured at the extravagance of the king and the expenses of his court; for the English had begun to follow French fashions, and chivalry, or the duties of a knight, which once had been solemn and religious, had now become a matter of fashion, and was costly and frivolous.

The Black Death, 1348.

7. In 1355 the war began again, and in 1356 Edward III.'s eldest son, who is known as the Black Prince, won a great battle at Poitiers over the French, who tried to prevent him from getting back to Gascony, whence he had led a plundering expedition. King John of France was taken prisoner, and brought to England. Three years after this, in 1360, peace was made with France, at Bretigny, by which Edward III. received Poitou, and gave up his claims to the French crown. But peace did not last long. The Black Prince, who was left as governor of the English possessions in France,

French war, 1355–1370.

foolishly mixed himself up with a dispute for the Spanish crown, and wasted his money in a useless expedition into Spain. He taxed the people grievously to pay for this, and discontent arose amongst them, so that they preferred the French government to the English. War broke out again in 1369, but the new King of France, Charles V., was cautious, and would not fight in the open field. The Black Prince was broken in health, and had to return to England. Edward III. was old, and almost doting; the glory of his reign passed away in failure, and the French gradually won back Poitou and much of Guienne also.

8. Meanwhile in England the national spirit that had been kindled by the French war showed itself in opposition to the Popes, who were at this time living at Avignon, and were on the side of the French kings. Laws were passed to prevent the Pope from presenting to English benefices, and to prevent anyone appealing from the king's courts to the Pope. The result of this interference of the Pope with the English Church was that the clergy did not do their work with the same zeal as in former days, nor were they so much respected by the people. Moreover, learning was spread amongst other classes, and there was a desire on the part of the laity that they should hold offices of government instead of the higher clergy, who had mostly held them heretofore. An expression was given to all this ill feeling against the clergy by a wise priest who taught in Oxford—John Wiclif. At first Wiclif defended the national Church against the Pope, then he proceeded to reprove the worldly lives of the clergy, and sent forth 'poor priests' to teach the people, as St. Francis of Assisi had done before. For their use also he translated the Bible into English. At last Wiclif went further, and spoke against some of the doctrines of

The Church and John Wiclif. 1356–1384.

the Church, and said that men had not understood aright the words of Christ. Then the clergy accused him of heresy, and condemned his words: but no ill befell him, for he died in peace at his little living of Lutterworth in 1384.

9. Nor was it only in religious matters that disturbances arose; there were difficulties in the State also. Edward III. had borrowed from France the notion of gathering all the great lands of England into the king's family; in this way he hoped that the Crown and the barons would for the future be at one. So he married his five sons to great English heiresses, and gave them the new title of duke, so that the royal house was very powerful. But instead of bringing England together, this policy of Edward III. only divided it; for the younger sons became ambitious as they became powerful, and hoped that they might win the crown. Quarrels began, and claims to the throne were put forward, and parties gathered strength, till a long civil war was the result. The first steps towards this were soon made; for when the Black Prince was away in Gascony, his younger brother, John, Duke of Lancaster, held the chief place in England. When the Black Prince came back to England, broken in health, in 1371, John of Lancaster seems to have hoped that if his brother died he might be made king instead of his brother's young son. The discontent against the bad government of the king broke out in the Parliament of 1376, which is known as the *Good Parliament*. Parliament had now for convenience divided itself into two Houses; the bishops and abbots sat with the lay peers, and made the Upper House, and the knights of the shires and representatives of the towns sat together in the Lower House. In 1376 the Commons accused two of the king's officials of managing

Edward III. and his sons.

The Good Parliament, 1376.

ill the king's revenue; they brought them to trial before the Upper House, who sentenced them to punishment. This is the first instance of *impeachment*, as such trials are called, and it is noticeable because it gave Parliament power over the king's ministers, which made them afraid of doing anything very tyrannical.

10. The Black Prince died while the Good Parliament was sitting, and on his death it asked that his son Richard should be brought before it as heir apparent. Next year (1377) Edward III. died, and John of Lancaster lost his power, and was not even one of the council who ruled for the young Richard II. But government was no easy task; the French war still went on, and taxes weighed heavily on the people. The loss of labourers by the ravages of the Black Death made the lords exact from the peasants many of the feudal services that had been forgotten before. The preaching of the Lollards, as the followers of Wiclif were called, stirred up the people. In 1381 a heavy tax brought about a general rising of the peasants of Kent and Essex, who marched into London. Sudbury, archbishop and chancellor, was put to death, and everywhere was confusion. The peasants demanded that bondage and tolls at market should cease, and that a fixed rent for land should take the place of service to the lords. The young king did not fear to meet the rioters, and promised to grant their requests; when their leader, Wat Tyler, was struck down by the mayor of London, Richard exclaimed, 'I will be your leader,' and by his presence of mind saved himself from death. The Londoners soon gathered forces; the rebels were dispersed, and heavy vengeance was taken on them. Still after this time we find that the hardships which they complained of were gradually done away, and the lords did not again venture to exact the old feudal services.

The peasants' rising, 1481.

11. Richard II., as he grew up, found himself in great difficulties. His uncles, the Dukes of Gloucester and York, were too strong for him; and when Richard II. tried to raise up against them his own servants, Michael de la Pole, who was made Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the barons formed themselves again into a party, led by Gloucester, to resist the king's favourites. The Parliament of 1386 impeached De la Pole, who was condemned, and a council of regency was appointed to carry out reforms in the royal household. In vain Richard tried to free himself; he only stirred his opponents to harsher measures. In 1388 five lords, headed by Gloucester, accused the king's ministers of treason before Parliament, and many of them were put to death. Richard submitted at the time, but next year suddenly declared that he was of age to govern, chose his own ministers, and won the people to his side by his moderation. But in 1396 he married a second wife, daughter of the King of France, and seems to have wished to make himself an absolute king, like the French king. In 1397 he took violent measures against his former enemies; Gloucester was sent as a prisoner to Calais, where he died, and men said he had been put to death. Parliament, deprived of its leaders, seemed helpless before the king, granted him taxes for life, and handed over its powers to a committee of the king's friends. Richard II. set up the power of the king as it had never been set up before, and it is wonderful that Parliament should have given way. But already the evil effects were felt of the great lords whom Edward III. had set up; men no longer held together for the national good, as in the days of the struggle for the Charters, but were gathered round the rival lords, and strove only for their interests.

Richard II. and his uncles, 1382–1397.

12. Richard II.'s imprudence brought his power to

an end. In 1398 he banished from England the Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford, who had had a quarrel. The Duke of Hereford was his own cousin, son of John, Duke of Lancaster. In 1399 John died, and Richard's need of money tempted him to seize his uncle's estates, and soon after he went over to Ireland. While he was away the Duke of Hereford landed in England, saying he was come to recover his lands. The great nobles of the north, the Percies and the Nevilles, joined his cause. Richard was taken prisoner, was compelled to resign the crown, and was deposed by Parliament. Then Henry of Lancaster claimed the throne as 'being descended in the right line from Henry III.' Thus the policy of Edward III. had produced different results to what he hoped. The ambitious designs of the great barons of the royal house were too much for the king to keep down. Parliament was not strong enough as yet to set itself above these struggles, and Richard II. had aimed at setting himself above Parliament and barons. The crown passed away from the son of the Black Prince to the son of the Duke of Lancaster.

Deposition of Richard II., 1399.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISSENSIONS AMONG THE BARONS.

1. HENRY IV.'s reign was full of troubles. He was willing to rule according to the law, and his need of money made him listen to Parliament, and agree to redress the grievances of the Commons before they granted him a supply of money. But the great lords who had set Henry IV. on the throne expected him to please them more than he did. The

Henry IV., 1399–1413.

Percies rebelled, and Wales, under Owen Glendower, defied the king. The Lollards also pressed for great religious changes ; and the clergy, in alarm, prevailed on the king to pass a law for the execution of heretics. Henry IV. had little peace or happiness during his reign ; but he deserves praise for the way in which he strove to overcome his difficulties by ruling according to the law and with the help of Parliament.

2. His son, Henry V., brought to an end his father's difficulties ; he put down a rising of the Lollards, checked a conspiracy of some of the great lords against himself, drew the nation together around him, and took in hand the popular national enterprise of war with France. In 1415 he won the great battle of Agincourt, with 9,000 troops against 60,000. In 1417 he conquered Normandy, for the French were distracted by quarrels of parties, and could not oppose him vigorously. At last, in 1420, a treaty was made at Troyes, by which Henry V. was to wed the French king's daughter, and was to succeed him on the throne of France. Henry V. is the great military hero in English history ; his wars were glorious at the time, but they were wasted labour, and Henry V. led England to undertake more then she could carry out. Yet Henry V.'s wars united the people, and stopped for a time the discord of families in England. He died in 1422, leaving a son ten months old to succeed him. Henry VI. never grew up to be capable of governing, and during his long reign the strife of rival nobles went on increasing, till it broke out in the Wars of the Roses.

Henry V., 1413–1422.

3. First the rivalry in England was between the king's uncle Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Cardinal Beaufort, one of the younger sons of John, Duke of Lancaster. Another of the king's uncles, John, Duke of Bedford, managed

Parties among the nobles, 1422–1455.

affairs in France, where at first all went well for the English; but in 1429 a young peasant girl, Jeanne d'Arc, full of belief that she was bidden by heavenly voices to free her country, led the French troops to victory. The English thought she did it by witchcraft, and she was taken prisoner and cruelly put to death. But the English power lost hold on France after this, especially after Bedford's death in 1435, till at last only Calais remained to the English. In England, Beaufort wanted to make peace with France, Gloucester wished to carry on the war. Beaufort so far had his way that in 1445 a truce was made and Henry VI. married Margaret of Anjou, resigning the English claims on Anjou to her father. In 1447 Gloucester and Beaufort died, and parties were made anew. Henceforth there was the queen's party, headed by the Duke of Suffolk, and the party of the Duke of York, who was next heir to the throne. Before these parties all government gave way. Suffolk was impeached, and was lawlessly seized and beheaded at sea when on his way from England in 1450. In 1453 a son was born to Henry VI., and York's hopes of a peaceful succession came to an end. In the same year Henry VI., whose mind had never been very powerful, lost his wits, and York was made Protector. When Henry VI. recovered in 1455, York was dismissed, and the queen's party came into power. Civil war broke out, known as the Wars of the Roses, because the Yorkists took a white and the Lancastrians a red rose for their badge.

4. The Wars of the Roses, which began in 1455 and lasted till 1485, are one of the most disastrous periods in our history. They were fought for no great objects, and produced no great men. They were waged not by the people, but by the nobles on either side. The great nobles had become

Wars of the Roses, 1455–1485.

fewer and fewer in the recent troubles, and the separation between them and the people had grown greater in consequence. In these wars the northern nobles were mostly on the Lancastrian, and the southern on the Yorkist side. The people were weary of the weak government of Henry VI., and wanted a strong ruler; for in those days the government depended almost entirely on the character of the king. Henry VI. was amiable but weak, and followed any advisers of the moment. Queen Margaret was self-willed and unpopular; and though her courage kept the Lancastrians together, she had nothing but her armed force to trust to. Many bloody battles were fought, and the victors showed no mercy to the vanquished. In 1460 the Duke of York was victorious, and Parliament declared him next heir to the crown; but a few months later he was slain in battle at Wakefield, and his son Edward, after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, was hailed as king in 1461, and at Towton, in the same year, destroyed Margaret's army.

5. But Edward IV.'s throne was not secure. His marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, widow of a Lancastrian knight, did not please the nobles. He quarrelled with his most powerful supporter, the Earl of Warwick, who joined Margaret in exile, sailed to England in 1470, and restored Henry VI. Edward IV. fled, but soon returned; and at Barnet, in 1471, defeated and slew Warwick, while Margaret was defeated soon after at Tewkesbury, and her son Edward was slain. Henry VI. died soon afterwards, a prisoner in the Tower; and now Edward IV. was secure. But he was cruel, vicious, and extortionate; there was no one left among the nobles to check him. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, was charged with treason, and was put to death. England had exchanged the weak but constitutional government of the house of Lancaster

Edward IV., 1461–1483.

for a strong but arbitrary rule of the house of York.

6. In 1483 Edward IV. died, and the old confusion broke out again. Edward's sons were children, and the old nobles were afraid that the queen's relations, whom they regarded as upstarts, would rule as they chose. Accordingly they helped Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Edward IV.'s brother, to put down the queen's party. Richard was made Protector of the kingdom, but he schemed to have himself made king. The Duke of Buckingham especially helped him, stated his cause to the men of London, and went to Richard with a body of lords and others, who, in the name of the three estates of the realm, asked him to become king. After this Richard III. was crowned; his young nephews disappeared in the Tower, and men believed that their uncle had them smothered. Richard III. had waded to the throne through too much blood to give peace to England. His reign of two years was ended by the coming to England of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was looked upon as head of the Lancastrian party. Men wished for peace, and it was agreed that Henry Tudor should marry Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., and so unite these parties which had so long striven against one another. In 1485 Henry landed, and met Richard in battle at Bosworth, where Richard was defeated and slain. Then all men gladly took Henry for their king, and hoped for peaceful days.

Richard III., 1483–1485.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TUDOR DESPOTISM.

1. HENRY VII. undertook to give the country peace, but had hard work to do. The Wars of the Roses had lasted so long that they did not cease at once. Many plots were made against Henry VII., and his enemies set up pretenders, whose schemes forced him to be very cautious. The first of these pretenders was Lambert Simnel, the son of a joiner in Oxford, who gave out that he was the son of the Duke of Clarence, and found many supporters in Ireland, but was defeated when he came to England in 1487, and was made a scullion in the king's kitchen. More dangerous was a young man, Perkin Warbeck, who came from Flanders, where he had been taught his part, and called himself one of the sons of Edward IV., who was believed to have been murdered in the Tower. He was helped by the kings of France and Scotland, and some of the chief men in England plotted in his favour. From 1492 to 1497 he kept Henry VII. in alarm, but at last, when he landed in Cornwall, his troops abandoned him, and he was taken prisoner. He was confined in the Tower, and was put to death for attempting to escape in 1499.

Henry VII and pretenders, 1485-1499.

2. Henry VII., amid all these difficulties, learned that there were two things to do, if he was to reign quietly. One was to take away from the nobles their power of disturbing the kingdom; another was to make peace abroad, so as to prevent foreign kings from using these pretenders against him. It was not very hard to reduce the power of the nobles, for so many had been slain in the Wars of the Roses

Henry VII. and the nobles.

that those who remained were powerless against the king, as the people were glad to see their privileges done away; for the nobles used to have crowds of retainers, who wore their livery, and whom they protected by undertaking to *maintain* their quarrels, and in this way the law courts were overridden by the nobles Henry VII. caused the laws against the giving of liveries and against *maintenance* to be carried out, and he set up a special court of his chief ministers, to try the nobles who were too powerful to be tried in the ordinary courts. This court was called the Court of the Star Chamber, because the room in which it sat was ornamented with stars.

3. Henry VII. made peace abroad, and especially tried to separate Scotland from its alliance with France; for he gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to King James IV. of Scotland, and so prepared the way for the union of England and Scotland under one king. He made an alliance with the King of Spain, to help him against France; for France and Spain, which before had been much split up, were now becoming powerful kingdoms, more powerful than England. Henry VII. married his son Arthur to the Spanish king's daughter Katharine; but Arthur died very soon afterwards, and Henry, anxious to secure a connexion with Spain, got the Pope's leave that she might marry his second son, Henry.

Henry VII.'s foreign policy.

4. France and Spain both had become united, because their kings had brought the different parts of the country together; so in both these lands the power of the king was great, much greater than it had been before. The example of these countries, as well as the condition of England itself, favoured the growth of the royal power in England also. The nobles had been so weakened in the Wars of the Roses

Growth of the royal power.

that they could no longer stand against the king. The Commons had lost their leaders, and the long wars had made them forget their old care for their liberties and jealousy of the Crown. They looked upon the king as the only power which could secure peace, and they busied themselves with commerce more than with state affairs. The clergy had been so weakened by the constant interference of the Popes, and had been so frightened by the attacks of the Lollards, that they looked to the king as their only protector. So Henry VII. strengthened the royal power, and made men obey the laws. He spent little money, and tried to get it in other ways than through Parliament. He sent for rich men and asked them to give him money as a *benevolence*, and then used the law to compel them to keep their promises. He sought out all the old rights of the Crown, and made his judges fine men heavily for going against them. As he did not go to war he soon became rich, and for the last thirteen years of his reign only one Parliament met

5. When Henry VII. died, in 1509, his son, Henry VIII., reaped the benefit of all his father's caution. He was rich and powerful, and there was no one in England to stand against him. He was also desirous to take a high position amongst the kings of Europe, so he kept up the alliance with Spain which his father had begun, and married his brother's widow, Katharine, to make this alliance more sure. At this time there were wars in Italy, in which France, Spain, and Germany were taking part. Henry VIII. joined with Spain against France, and invaded France in 1513. This only led to a renewal of the old friendship between France and Scotland; and while Henry VIII. was away from England James IV. of Scotland invaded the North, but was defeated and killed at Flodden field, just after he had crossed the Tweed.

Henry VIII.'s wars, 1509–1513.

The death of the king left the regency in Scotland in the hands of his widow, who was Henry VIII.'s sister, and disturbances arose among the nobles which prevented Scotland from troubling England for a time.

6. Henry VIII.'s chief minister was Thomas Wolsey, who was made Archbishop of York and Chancellor. Wolsey was a clever politician, and managed to hold the balance between France and Spain so that both countries courted the English king. In 1525 the French king was defeated and taken prisoner in Italy, and Henry VIII. hoped that his ally, Charles V., King of Spain, who had also been chosen King of Germany, would help him to win back English lands in France. But Charles V. did not wish to make Henry VIII. too powerful, and did not help him as he hoped. Then Henry VIII.'s friendship for Spain began to cool, and he thought of allying with France instead. This made him tire of his wife, who was older than himself and was entirely devoted to Spain. Moreover, Henry had no son, which made men anxious as to what would happen on his death. Henry also had fallen in love with a young lady of the court, Anne Boleyn. So there was a mixture of political and personal reasons to lead him to wish to put away his wife and marry another.

Henry VIII.'s quarrel with Spain, 1525-1528.

7. Henry VIII. was accustomed to have his own way in all things, and Wolsey was ready to manage the divorce for him. Henry VIII. had needed the Pope's leave, or dispensation, to marry his brother's widow. Wolsey now asked the Pope to say that the dispensation which a previous Pope had given was not lawful, and so the marriage might at once be set aside. But Charles V. was so powerful in Italy that the Pope dared not do anything against his will, and Charles V. was not willing to have his aunt put away. The Pope tried to please both Henry

Henry VIII.'s divorce question, 1528-1531.

VIII. and Charles V., and sent a legate to England who, together with Wolsey, was to try the case; but when it came to the point nothing was done. Then Henry VIII. was very angry with Wolsey, who had advised him to take this course. In 1529 Wolsey's offices were taken away from him, he was prosecuted for having held the office of papal legate in England, though the king had consented to it, and died in 1530, saying, 'If I had served my God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs.' After this Henry was determined to get rid of his wife without the Pope, and that led by degrees to great changes in the English Church, which are called the *Reformation*.

8 (1). There had been growing up ever since the reign of John a dislike of the Pope's interference in English affairs. This increased in the fourteenth century, when the Popes sided entirely with the French king, and in the fifteenth century, when they had busied themselves chiefly with Italian politics. Men felt that the Popes raised heavy taxes from the English Church, and spent the money for their own purposes. So many men thought that the English Church could manage its own affairs better without the Pope's help at all.

Origin of the Reformation.

(2). Besides this, the clergy were not so strong or so popular as they once had been. Many abuses had grown up among them. There were many small monasteries in which monks did not live as they ought. Men saw the faults of the clergy more clearly, for in the fifteenth century was a great revival of learning, and the clergy were no longer the best-educated men. Wolsey saw the need of making some reforms. As papal legate he put an end to some of the small monasteries, and spent the money in founding his college at Oxford, which is now called Christ Church.

(3). But this was not all. Some men thought that many of the doctrines and practices which the clergy taught were not in accordance with the Scriptures, and they wished to have the beliefs of the Church made simpler. In Germany, at this time, Luther set himself against the doctrines of the Roman Church, and many men followed his opinions.

9. So when Henry VIII. wished to oppose the Pope, he had many means by which to do so. First, he wished to frighten the Pope by showing his power over the clergy. In 1531 all the clergy were accused of breaking the law, because they had treated Wolsey as the Pope's legate. They offered to pay the king a large fine, but Henry refused to take it unless in granting it they called him 'supreme head of the Church.' The clergy unwillingly agreed, for they felt that they were entirely in the king's power. Still the Pope could not give way, but in 1533 Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn. An Act of Parliament was passed declaring that the English Church could settle its own affairs, and forbidding any appeal to the Pope. Thomas Cranmer had just been made Archbishop of Canterbury, because he had argued so well in behalf of the king's divorce. He called Katharine to trial, and declared that her marriage had been unlawful. The quarrel with the Pope had now gone too far to be made up. The English Church had been separated from the headship of the Roman Church, and was independent. This great step had been taken by the strong power of the king, and the greater part of the people of England agreed with it. Those who objected were sternly put down. Henry VIII. found in Thomas Cromwell a minister who served him as faithfully as Wolsey had done. Cromwell had spies over the country, so that men were afraid to raise their voices against the king's doings.

Separation of the English Church from Rome, 1531–1535.

Henry did everything through Parliament, which he so managed that it enacted anything he wished. An Act was passed making the children of Anne Boleyn his heirs, and declaring his marriage with Katharine unlawful from the beginning. Men were called upon to swear obedience to this; when Sir Thomas More, who had been Chancellor, and was famous throughout Europe for his learning, refused to take the oath, he was sent to prison and afterwards beheaded.

10. The separation from Rome led to other changes in the Church. The monks held fast to the Pope, and were least under the king's power; so Henry, as supreme over the Church, made Cromwell his Vicar-General, or minister in Church matters. Cromwell enquired into the monasteries, and laid a report before Parliament, which, in 1536, dissolved the smaller monasteries, and in 1539 dissolved them all. This made a great change in the country, for the broad lands of the monasteries went to new men, who were harder landlords than the monks had been, and employed fewer labourers. Thus many men were thrown out of work, and now that the monasteries were gone there were no institutions to feed the poor. There was great discontent, which broke out in armed risings in 1536; but the old nobles still stood by the king, and the rebels were put down. The dissolution of the monasteries also did away with much of the importance of the House of Lords; for the greater abbots, who were generally members of noble families, had seats there. Henceforth the House of Lords was much smaller, and the power of the Church in Parliament was much less.

Dissolution of the monasteries, 1536–1539.

CHAPTER X.

THE REFORMATION.

1. CHANGES in the outward organisation of the Church soon led to inward changes also. Many men wished the doctrines of the Church to be reformed, and the example of Luther's followers in Germany soon spread to England. In 1537 a translation of the Bible was ordered to be put into every church. Images were taken down, as leading to superstition, and the shrines of the saints were robbed of their treasures. Questions of doctrine were found to cause more divisions than questions of practice. The extreme Protestants, to show their hatred of superstition did many things which seemed to most men irreverent. Henry VIII thought them disorderly, and in 1539 an Act of Parliament was passed to prevent them from going any further. Two parties formed themselves—one that wished to hold as closely as possible to the old Church, the other that wished to follow the opinions of Luther. Henry VIII. held the balance between these two parties.

The Protestants.

2. Cromwell wished to draw Henry VIII. to the Protestant side; so he arranged a marriage between the king and a German Protestant princess, Anne of Cleves. But Henry VIII. did not like his wife, and the cause of the Protestant princes in Germany, who were opposing Charles V., did not seem very prosperous. So Henry was angry with Cromwell; he was accused before Parliament of deceiving the king, and was condemned to death at once (1540). It is amazing to see how powerful the king had become because there was nothing to keep the royal power in check. Henry VIII. had also a strong character, so that

Henry VIII. and the Protestants, 1539-1547.

men were willing to obey him. The chief thing that the people wanted was quiet, and if the king gave them that, they cared for little else. Henry's ministers served him with devotion; but when they became unpopular, he sacrificed them to the dislike which they had won by doing his bidding. In his private matters Henry did as he pleased We have seen how he put away Queen Katharine; Anne Boleyn fared still worse, for she was accused of misbehaviour and was put to death; after her Henry had four more wives, one of whom was put away and another beheaded. The last years of Henry VIII.'s reign were full of contentions between the two religious parties, but gradually the Protestants gained more influence with the king. When Henry VIII. died, in 1547, he left as his successor a young son, Edward VI.; in his will he named a council that was to rule till his son came of age, but the head of the council was his son's uncle, who was made Duke of Somerset, and whom the council appointed 'Protector of the Realm,' for they thought it best that one man should hold the chief power.

3. Somerset was a decided Protestant, and he and Cranmer made changes in the old services of the Church, and put a new Prayer Book in the place of the old service book, in such a way as to give offence to many. It was difficult, amid all the changes that were going on, to keep England united and free from disturbances. Henry VIII.'s harsh measures had been endured, because men felt that Henry was striving to keep his kingdom together, and that he held the balance of parties in his hand. But under Somerset the Protestant party had their own way, and they behaved with little wisdom and moderation. Somerset was especially unwise in his dealings with Scotland, which he attacked that he might compel the Scots to give their young queen Mary in marriage to

The Reformation under Somerset, 1547.

Edward VI. The Scots were defeated at Pinkie-Cleugh, near Edinburgh, in 1547, and their lands were laid waste; but this only made them draw closer to France, whither Mary was sent, and was betrothed to the heir to the French throne.

Somerset's mistakes, 1547-1549.

4. At home Somerset was not strong enough to keep order. The social distress had gone on increasing among the labourers, and many men who were thrown out of work wandered through the country and begged or stole. There were complaints that the new landlords were enclosing the lands that before had been common. Somerset behaved so that the people thought he was on their side; and in 1549 they rose in arms against the landlords in Cornwall, Devon, and Norfolk. In Norfolk they were very strong at first, but were put down by the Earl of Warwick. The nobles blamed Somerset for this rising, and his rule was unpopular; so that at the end of 1549 he was driven to resign his office as Protector, and Warwick, who took the title of Duke of Northumberland, succeeded him.

Northumberland and the Protestants, 1549-1553.

5. Somerset, though unwise, was sincere; but Northumberland was no wiser, and less sincere. He had no care about religion, but he held by the Protestants because the young king Edward VI. was a strong follower of the Protestant belief. So the Protestant party pursued their reforms with little charity. It was not long before Somerset was put to death, as Northumberland was afraid of him (1552); indeed, in these days, when Parliament had little to say to the government, a minister who lost office was sure to lose his life also. But Northumberland wished to secure his own power. Edward VI. was a weakly boy, and was not likely to live long. The next heir to the throne was Mary, Henry VIII.'s daughter by Katharine, who was a Catholic, and would undo all

that Edward VI. had seen done with pleasure. Northumberland persuaded Edward VI. that he had the power to settle who should succeed him. So Edward VI. had a paper drawn up, by which his sisters were set aside, and the throne was left to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, whom Northumberland had married to his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. When Edward VI. died, in 1553, Queen Jane was proclaimed But men did not like to see the old laws set aside in this way; they distrusted Northumberland, and did not care much about Protestantism as he and his party had put it before them. Northumberland found that few followed him; he was taken prisoner, and soon after put to death. In hopes of escaping death, he said that he had always in heart been a Catholic. We cannot wonder that selfish and untruthful men, such as he, made Englishmen distrust Protestantism, and be ready to try again the old religion which Mary brought back

6. But if the reign of Edward VI. showed men the disadvantages of Protestantism, the reign of Mary showed them still more the evils of Catholicism. Mary was devoted to her cousin the Emperor Charles V., and wished to act according to his advice in all things. She would not marry an Englishman, but insisted on marrying the son of Charles V., Philip II., who soon became King of Spain. Men in England did not like this, and there was a rising of Protestants, and those who disliked the queen's marriage, under Sir Thomas Wyatt. But the men of London held by Mary, and Wyatt was taken prisoner. After this Lady Jane Grey and her husband were put to death, and Mary married Philip (1554). Then Mary set up again the headship of the Pope over the English Church; and Cardinal Pole, grandson of the Duke of Clarence, wh

Catholicism under Mary, 1553–1556.

had fled to Italy rather than agree to Henry VIII.'s divorce, came to England as papal legate, and was made Archbishop of Canterbury in Cranmer's stead. The old laws against the Lollards passed under Henry IV. were put in force against the Protestants, who were brought to trial before the bishops for their opinions, and, if they would not lay them aside, were condemned to be burned. Bishops Latimer and Ridley, and Archbishop Cranmer, were all burned at Oxford. But this persecution did not terrify men so much as rouse their anger. Those who were burned suffered death with a quiet courage that made the crowd honour them. Persecution did not succeed; yet Mary thought it her duty to carry it on. She did not understand the English people, and thought more about Spain and Catholicism than she did about England.

7. Abroad also the connexion with Spain led to disaster, for Philip II. went to war with France, and England was drawn to join him. The French saw that the town of Calais, which was the last English possession in France, was not properly guarded, so they attacked and took it in 1558. Men looked on this as a great disgrace, and Mary felt it keenly. Everything combined to make Mary miserable. Her husband, Philip II., whom she fondly loved, cared little for her, and was busied abroad; the Pope had quarrelled with Spain about Italian affairs, and paid off his grudge against Spain on Mary, who was labouring to do all she could for the Pope's interests; England was deeply in debt, and had neither ships nor soldiers in proper order, for the religious squabbles had for the last ten years chiefly occupied the government, and the defences of the country had fallen into disorder. It was a gloomy outlook, and Mary, worn out by sorrow, died in November 1558.

Mary's failure, 1556–1558.

8. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, came next to the throne, and had the courage, wisdom, and energy to set England right again. It was on easy matter to get the country to settle down after the great changes which had passed over it. The question about the form of religion to be adopted had become mixed up with others. All throughout Europe those who held by the Pope were opposed to those who rejected the Pope's authority. Mary's reign had shown Englishmen that the restoration of the Pope's supremacy meant the sacrifice of national independence, for the Pope and the King of Spain had meddled in English affairs, and had brought nothing but disasters. So Elizabeth decided to do away with the Pope's supremacy—indeed, as being Anne Boleyn's daughter, she could scarcely do otherwise—and go back to the policy of Henry VIII., which was to keep as much of the old Church as possible, making only such changes as would satisfy moderate men. So in 1559 a settlement of religious matters was made, which lasted for some time. The Crown, and not the Pope, was declared head of the Church in England, but Elizabeth would not call herself 'supreme head of the Church,' but only 'in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme.' The Prayer Book was revised, and an Act of Uniformity was passed, which forbade any services to be used except those laid down in the Prayer Book. Of course many of the clergy did not agree to this, but Elizabeth set up new bishops to keep them in order. It was Elizabeth's fault that she did not know how strong were conscientious religious opinions. The system which she set up kept much of the beliefs of the old Church, and also did much that the Protestants wanted; so she thought that all men ought to be compelled to agree to it. There were, however, soon separations from it, and the fact that

Religious settlement under Elizabeth, 1559.

Elizabeth made no place for those who separated from it caused many troubles afterwards. Yet Elizabeth felt that England must be kept one in religion if it were to be kept an independent State; for throughout Europe the Catholic powers were trying to put down the Protestant States, and both France and Spain were ready to make an attack on England. The English people saw this also, and for a time the danger of the country made them sink their differences.

9. The first danger came from the side of France. Mary of Scotland had become Queen of France in 1559, and began to call herself Queen of England also, for she was descended from Henry VII. It was very dangerous to Elizabeth to have France and Scotland banded together against her. But luckily in Scotland also there was a strong party in favour of a reform of the Church, and Elizabeth joined with them and helped them against Mary and the French. So in 1560 peace was made at Edinburgh; the French troops were withdrawn from Scotland, and Mary was no longer to claim the English crown. After this the Scottish Parliament met, did away with the authority of the Pope, and formed their Church according to the views of John Calvin, a great French reformer at Geneva. The Scots went further away from the old Church than the English had done, for they did away with bishops, and allowed each congregation to manage its own affairs by means of *presbyters* or elders.

The Reformation in Scotland, 1560.

10. The reformation in Scotland freed Scotland from French influence, and religious troubles broke out in France itself, where Elizabeth helped the *Huguenots*, as the French Protestants were called, and so gave the French king enough to do at home. But in 1561, Mary, who had been left a widow, sailed to Scotland, and there

Elizabeth, and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1560–1569.

tried to raise up a party which would join with the Catholics in England and set her on the English throne. In 1565 Mary married her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and so strengthened her claim on England, as Darnley was grandson of Henry VIII.'s sister, Margaret. But the marriage was not a happy one; and though Mary was very clever, her husband upset her plans by his jealousy of Rizzio, an Italian, who was the queen's secretary. Darnley caused him to be murdered in the queen's presence at Holyrood, in 1566. Mary never forgave her husband; and in 1567 the house in which Darnley was lying ill was blown up by gunpowder, and Darnley was killed. The Earl of Bothwell was charged with the deed, and there is little doubt that he was guilty; yet in a few months Mary married him. Then the Scottish nobles rose against her, and accused her of having joined with Bothwell to murder Darnley. Mary was made prisoner, and was compelled to give up the crown to her young son, James VI. But in 1568 Mary escaped from prison, and raised her forces; she was defeated, and fled to England. Her presence in England was very troublesome to Elizabeth, who did not wish to side either with her or with her nobles; but she thought it was not wise to let Mary escape to France, so she kept her prisoner in England. There a Catholic party slowly gathered round her, and the Catholic powers abroad were constantly encouraging plots in her favour. In 1569 the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland rose to restore the old religion, and their rising was put down with severity.

11. In 1570 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth, and so the Catholics were separated from the English Church, which Elizabeth had set up, and which she hoped would content them. Philip II., King of Spain, as head of the

Breach with Catholicism, 1570–1587.

Catholic party in Europe, was foremost in all these schemes against Elizabeth. But his subjects in the Netherlands, of which also he was ruler, rose against him, and Elizabeth sent them help, so as to encourage them to hold out, and Philip had enough to do to make war upon them. Still there were troubles in Ireland, where men had not liked the new Church ; and in England there were constant plots against Elizabeth's life. Young Englishmen were trained abroad by a new religious order of the Jesuits, to be priests of the Catholic Church ; then they came into England and secretly set up the old services, and so raised a strong opposition against the queen. These Jesuits were severely dealt with, and the Act of Uniformity was strictly enforced, so that persecution became again common in England, though now it had more of a political than of a religious meaning. Thus parties grew more bitter ; but during these years of peace England had grown much richer and stronger. The great mass of the people had gradually learned to be Protestant in their hearts, and loved their queen and reverenced their English Church. A love of adventure also sprung up among them ; ships were built, and English seamen went on voyages to America and the West Indies, and brought back rich prizes which they won from the Spaniards. Thus the power of Spain was being constantly crippled ; and at last Philip II. determined to crush the English power, and equipped a mighty fleet to invade England. Before it came, Mary, Queen of Scots, was found guilty of a plot against Elizabeth's life and condemned to death by a commission of peers. Elizabeth hesitated to put Mary to death ; at length she signed the warrant, and Mary was executed (1587). Elizabeth's conduct to Mary can scarcely be justified ; yet, so long as Mary lived, she was a perpetual enemy to Elizabeth and to England.

12. In 1588 Philip's 'Invincible Armada' sailed to England, and Catholics and Protestants alike gathered together to fight for their country's freedom. The Spanish ships were larger than the English; but the English showed themselves cleverer seamen, and managed their little ships better than did the Spaniards. They took advantage of the unwieldiness of the Spanish vessels, and threw them into confusion. Then a storm arose, and the Spanish ships were scattered, and were driven helplessly northwards, where most of them were wrecked. The attempt of Spain to conquer England entirely failed; and after this Englishmen lost their fear of the power of Spain, and felt more their own strength. A war by sea was carried on against Spain, and English seamanship became more and more renowned. Now too, for the first time, England became a colonising nation; the first English settlement in the New World was made by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, and was called Virginia, after the virgin queen. Thus England began to enter on the course which afterwards formed the chief source of her national greatness.

The Spanish Armada, 1588.

13. In many other ways Elizabeth's reign marked the beginning of a new state of things. The new nobility of wealthy men built themselves country houses instead of the feudal castles which before had covered the land. The houses of the poor were much improved, and there was more wealth and comfort. The Poor Law was set up, by which a rate was to be collected in each parish, to give means of living to those who could not work. The new national spirit also expressed itself in literature; and the greatest of English writers, William Shakespeare, shows us how great must have been the minds of those amongst whom he lived.

National life under Elizabeth.

14. But the end of the reign of Elizabeth gave signs that this new spirit would soon force its way in politics also. When the fear of Spain was gone, men turned their attention to things at home. Parliament, which had been content to do as the Tudor kings ordered, again began to form opinions of its own. The Wars of the Roses had done away with the power of the nobles, and the religious troubles had compelled all to look up to the Crown as the only power which could keep the nation together. The nobles and the clergy had fallen under the power of the king; and the Commons were content to obey till they grew in strength and vigour. After the defeat of the Armada they began to feel their power again, and Elizabeth felt in her later years that she was not obeyed as she once had been. Her last years were unhappy, for parties formed in her court, one in favour of peace, the other in favour of war against Spain. At the head of the war party was the queen's favourite Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who was sent to Ireland to put down one of the constant risings which took place there. But he made terms with the rebels, against the queen's orders, and fell into disgrace when he came back. Then he attempted to rise against the queen, in 1601, but his attempt was useless; and Elizabeth, in her old age, found herself compelled to sign the death warrant of the man whom she most loved. Elizabeth had been a wise and useful ruler for England in its difficulties, for she loved peace and knew how to take advantage of her enemies without going to war; she was more fitted to cherish in difficult times the growing strength of England, than she was to direct the energies which grew up under her protection.

Signs of change 1588–1603.

CHAPTER XI.

PRETENSIONS OF THE STUARTS.

1. When Elizabeth died, in 1603, the descendants of Henry VIII. came to an end, and the descendants of his sister Margaret came to the throne. The accession of James VI., King of Scotland, son of Mary and Darnley, was in itself important for the future of England. The crowns of England and Scotland were now united on one head, and the old feud between the two countries was at an end. Moreover, James had been for many years King of Scotland, and came to England with his notions of a king's position fully made up. The power of the Crown under the Tudors arose from the troubled state of the country and the difficulty of the questions which had to be settled. The Tudor sovereigns were allowed to act arbitrarily because they were doing on the whole what the mass of the people wanted, and men were glad to see them do it with a strong hand. But the presence of danger had now gone by; the Commons were wealthy and energetic, and took more interest in politics; they had learned to stand by themselves without the aid of nobles or clergy, and they began again to assert the old liberties which Parliament had enjoyed before the troubles of the Wars of the Roses. To meet this new spirit came James I., with a lofty notion of the power of the king, convinced that he had a right to do whatever the Tudors had done, but forgetting that the Tudors had done what the people had wanted, while he was prepared to do what he thought best, whether the people liked it or not. The powers that the Tudors had used in extraordinary times he wished to establish as the ordinary power of the king.

James I.'s notion of the royal power.

James I.'s son and grandsons, who came after him, all had the same ideas as their father. So through all this Stuart period a continual struggle was going on between king and Parliament, to settle what the limits of the king's power should be.

2. Differences were not long in breaking out between James I. and his people. Indeed, there were hard questions left over from Elizabeth's reign to be settled. There had always been a number of earnest men who had not been content with the services of the English Church as Elizabeth had set them up. They thought that too much of the old services had been kept, and that some of the ceremonies led to superstition. Under Elizabeth these Puritans, as they were called, had been kept down. Now that James I. came from a land where Puritan opinions had prevailed, it was hoped that he would allow greater freedom to the Puritans in the English Church. But these hopes were not fulfilled, for James I. thought that the equality in Church government, which existed in Scotland, would lead to equality also in politics, and that greater freedom to the Puritans would lessen the power of the Crown. 'No bishop, no king,' he exclaimed; and after a conference between the bishops and the Puritans at Hampton Court, he refused to make any changes in Church matters (1604). Parliament was angered at this, for Puritanism was strong among the well-to-do middle class, of which Parliament was greatly made up.

James I. and the Puritans, 1604.

3. Moreover, James wished to be looked upon abroad as a great king, and so to have a part in foreign politics. During Elizabeth's reign England had stood alone, and had protected itself against the Kings of France and Spain. James I. wished to have peace, and to be on an equal footing with the

James I. and the Catholics, 1605.

French and Spanish kings. But he could not do this so long as the Catholics were severely dealt with in England. So James wished to make the laws against the Catholics less strict; the Parliament was angered at this, for they said that the Catholics were dangerous, as they were always plotting to bring England under foreign rule. The danger from the Catholics was indeed shown by the plot of a few desperate men to blow up the Parliament House in 1605. This 'Gunpowder Plot' was found out in time; but it shows that Parliament was becoming important again, when it was thought that the Catholics would be better off if Parliament were destroyed.

4. James's desire to be a great king abroad led him to wish for an alliance with Spain, and a plan was formed of marrying Prince Charles to the King of Spain's daughter. The English did not like this at all, for they hated the Spaniards as being their old enemies, and their anger was increased against the king when they saw him put to death on a slight charge, to please the King of Spain, one of the greatest of the Elizabethan seamen and statesmen, Sir Walter Raleigh (1618).

James I. and Spain, 1605–1618.

5. Thus, in all these things, the king pursued a course opposed to what his people wanted, and Parliament grew bolder and bolder in going against him. Elizabeth had been very economical, and so had managed to keep herself pretty free from the control of Parliament; but James was extravagant and always in debt, and had to go to Parliament for money. The landed gentry had now grown strong enough to take the place of the old nobles in opposing the Crown, and they joined with the Puritans in remonstrating against the king's doings. On the other hand, there were many people who held that the king's power came from God, and ought not to be meddled with.

James I. and Parliament, 1603–1621.

There were also some statesmen and lawyers who upheld the king's power, because they thought that only by means of it could useful reforms be made in law and other matters. The king's great minister at first was Robert Cecil, and so long as he lived things went on pretty well. But after his death the king took to favourites, who owed everything to him and would do his bidding. Chief of these was George Villiers, who was made Duke of Buckingham. Everywhere evil practices prevailed amongst the king's ministers. In 1621 the House of Commons impeached the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, for taking gifts as a judge. Bacon was a wise man and a great writer, and he seems to have taken these presents without looking on them as bribes. Still his example was a bad one; he was found guilty, fined, and deprived of his office.

James I. and foreign affairs, 1618–1625.

6. In foreign affairs, James and his subjects differed more and more. In 1618 a great war, known, from the time it lasted, as the Thirty Years' War, broke out in Germany between the Catholics and Protestants. James's son-in-law, the elector Palatine, was driven from his dominions, and the English people wanted to help him and the other Protestants. But James would not quarrel with Spain, as he hoped for the Spanish marriage for his son Charles. In 1623 Charles and the Duke of Buckingham went off to Spain to bring back the princess; but there were difficulties in the way, and, to the joy of England, Charles came back disappointed, without his Spanish bride. Parliament wanted to make war against Spain, and to marry Charles to a Protestant wife. But the desire for an alliance with a great foreign power led him to marry Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king, and to do this he agreed that the laws against Catholics should not be put in force. Soon after, in 1625, James I. died, and Charles I. found

that he had the same difficulties with Parliament for at the beginning of his reign they refused to grant him money for life, as had been done to all kings since Edward IV.

7. Charles I., though opposed by his Parliament, still hoped to take an important position in foreign affairs. He laid aside his father's peaceful policy, and so plunged deeper and deeper into difficulties. First he joined France in war against Spain, and when France made peace with Spain he quarrelled with France. To get supplies for these wars, he took money without consent of Parliament, and called it a loan; but men were thrown into prison if they did not pay, and when some of them complained that they were imprisoned unlawfully, the judges ruled that the king might send men to prison without giving any reason. However, in 1628 Charles I. was obliged to call Parliament together to get money. Before granting him any, the Commons drew up a 'Petition of Right,' which laid down that no one should be called on to pay loans or taxes without the consent of Parliament, and that no one should be sent to prison without cause being shown. Charles I. gave his consent to this, and got a grant of money for the purpose of carrying on war against France. But just as Buckingham was going to sail with a fleet, he was stabbed by a man called Felton: and the people rejoiced at his death, for they thought that he was the king's adviser in all his unlawful doings. Charles failed in his war against France, and had to make peace in 1629.

Charles I. and foreign affairs, 1625–1629.

8. Now that Charles I. was free from war and from the influence of Buckingham, it was hoped that he would get on better with Parliament. But there were differences about the meaning of the Petition of Right, and there were religious differences. For some men in the Church of England cared especially

Church parties.

about those things in the Prayer Book which were like the old Church, and were what we should now call High Churchmen. These men angered the Puritans, who wished to make the belief of the English Church more like what the German reformers had taught to be good. The king took the side of the High Churchmen, for they taught that the king's power came from God, and that men ought to obey him in all things. Parliament, on the other hand, was full of Puritans, and called on the king to put down the High Churchmen, who, they thought, were leading men back to Catholicism. So the king and Parliament quarrelled more and more, and in 1629 Charles I. dissolved Parliament, and determined to try to govern without one.

Personal government of Charles I., 1629–1640.

9. From 1629 to 1640 there was no Parliament. Charles I.'s chief advisers were Sir Thomas Wentworth, who afterwards was made Lord Strafford, and Laud, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Charles I. was convinced that he was right in all he had done, and that Parliament was wrong. He thought it his duty to maintain what he considered to be the old rights of the Crown, and he cared little whether his people agreed with him or not. Wentworth and Laud devised a policy which they called 'Thorough,' and which aimed at carrying things with a high hand and putting down all opposition. Laud was a High Churchman and was in favour of forms and ceremonies, which he was unwearied in enforcing upon all the clergy. His constant meddlesomeness caused great irritation, and his doings provoked the Puritans in every way. The Court of High Commission, which had been set up by Elizabeth for ecclesiastical matters, was now used to punish all who did contrary to Laud's wishes. The Star Chamber Court also tried men who displeased the king, and was made up of judges only, without any jury. To raise money the

king set in force an old right of the Crown to call upon the seaport towns to provide ships for the defence of the kingdom; now, under the name of ship money, he laid this tax on the whole land. When a Buckinghamshire gentleman, John Hampden, refused to pay, he was brought to trial, and the judges ruled that the king had power to take the money of his subjects. Wentworth ruled Ireland as Lord Deputy, and made all men there obey the commands of the king.

10. For a time Charles I. seemed to have his own way, but at last he raised a bitter opposition in Scotland by following Laud's advice and trying to make the Scottish Church like the English. In 1637 a service book, like the English Prayer Book, was ordered to be used in Scotland. The Scots did not like this service book at all, and detested Laud's changes, which they thought led to idolatry and superstition. So there were riots in Edinburgh. The Scots banded themselves together to defend their religious liberties, and Charles I. was unable to put them down. In 1640 the Scots invaded England, and then Charles I. was forced to summon Parliament again.

Disturbance in Scotland, 1631–1640

11. The Parliament that met in 1640 is known as the 'Long Parliament,' from the length of time which it lasted. Men in England had grown very bitter against the king, and Parliament was resolved to strike a severe blow. Strafford had come back to England to help the king in his difficulties, and the first thing the Commons did was to impeach him. When the trial seemed likely to last long, they passed a Bill of Attainder declaring him to be a traitor and condemning him to death. The king was so powerless that he gave his consent to this Bill, and Strafford was beheaded. Laud also was impeached, but his trial was for the present put off. Parliament then went

The Long Parliament, 1640.

on to declare ship money illegal, to abolish the High Commission Court and the Court of the Star Chamber, to enact that Parliament should be summoned at least once every three years, and that the present Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent.

12. Charles agreed to these laws, for he could not do otherwise; but he did not mean to keep to them longer than he could help. He trusted to raise an army, to get the Scots to help him, and also to get help from the Irish Catholics. So in 1641 Charles went to Scotland and gave the Scots what they wished; but while he was away came news that the Irish Catholics had risen against the Protestants, and had put many of them to death. Men in England thought that Charles, by trying to get the Irish to help him, had encouraged them to this dreadful deed. Parliament saw that it was necessary to take measures for its own safety, so it drew up the Grand Remonstrance, which was a statement of all the misgovernment of Charles I. since he came to the throne. This was not only sent to the king, but was printed for the people to read. Charles determined to terrify Parliament, so he accused five members of high treason, and came down with his guards to the House to take them prisoners; but the members had heard of his coming, and had fled. Thus his plan failed entirely; he had attempted to use force to Parliament, and had done nothing. He did not get the five members into his hands, but he had shown everyone that he was ready to set aside the rights and privileges of Parliament. After this, war between king and Parliament was unavoidable. The king left London to raise forces. There was no standing army in England, but every county had its militia, over which the king appointed the officers. Parliament asked that they should appoint the officers for a time instead of the king; when the king refused war broke out, in 1642.

Quarrels with Parliament, 1641.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GREAT REBELLION.

1. MEN in England were pretty equally divided, at first, between the king and the Parliament. Those who held to the Church of England joined the king, while the Puritans were with the Parliament. Civil war, 1642–1645. The eastern counties and those round London were generally on the side of Parliament; the northern counties and those near Wales sided mostly with the king. The nobles and country gentry were the strength of the king's army; the farmers and shopkeepers made up the forces of Parliament. At first the king's troops had rather the advantage, and Parliament looked for help to Scotland. The Scots agreed to join with them if they would set up a Presbyterian Church in England, so Parliament entered into the 'Solemn League and Covenant' with the Scots, and accepted Presbyterianism. There were, however, some earnest men who did not like Presbyterianism, or any other form of worship which all were to use, but thought that each congregation should settle those matters for itself. These men were called Independents, and their great leader was a Cambridgeshire gentleman, Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell thought that, instead of settling the war by the help of the Scots, it would be better to train up an army of godly and sturdy men, who would be fit to fight against the Royalist gentry. So he trained a troop of horse of his own, and by his skill and their discipline won, in 1644, a decisive victory over the king at Marston Moor, near York. After this, Cromwell devised a plan that the army should be new-modelled, and turned into a regular army instead of being mere levies. This was

done, and Cromwell's plan was proved successful by a great victory over Charles, at Naseby, in 1645.

Fall of the king, 1645–1649.

2. After this Charles could raise no more troops, and his only hope was to set the Presbyterians against the Independents. For this purpose he took refuge with the Scots, but they gave him up to the English Parliament (1647). Attempts were made to settle matters with the king, but he always hoped that the Independents and Presbyterians would quarrel, and men learned to distrust him more and more. At last, in 1648, the Scots marched into England, and the Royalists rose in favour of the king. But Cromwell soon defeated the Scots, and Fairfax the Royalists. Then they marched back to London full of anger against Charles, for they thought that they would have no peace nor quietness so long as he lived. They were bent on putting him to death ; and an officer, Colonel Pride, sent soldiers to the House of Commons and turned away from it more than a hundred members who were thought still to look on Charles as their lawful king. Then the remaining members, who were only about fifty, appointed a commission to try the king. Charles was sentenced to be put to death for his wrong doings, and was beheaded at Whitehall in 1649.

The Commonwealth, 1649–1650.

3. Thus the struggle between the king and Parliament, had led to the entire downfall of the king. This was not what the majority of the English people had wanted; they wanted that the government both of Church and State should go on pretty much as it had done before, only that the king should recognise the authority of Parliament, and govern with its counsel and advice. But Parliament had won the day by means of the Presbyterians and the Independents. The Presbyterians wished to change the character of the Church ; and the Independents wished

to set up a new form of government altogether. So long as the Presbyterians were in power they had tried to set up the king again if he would agree to do as they wished; when the Independents got the upper hand by means of the army, they overthrew the king and set up a Commonwealth, which was to rest upon the sovereignty of the people. The Crown and the House of Lords were both abolished, and all power was to rest in the House of Commons.

4. It was not to be expected that this sweeping change would be at once accepted. In Ireland, men sent for Prince Charles, eldest son of the late king; but before he could get there Cromwell went with an army, took Drogheda and Wexford by storm, and slew all the garrison. Ireland submitted, and Charles went to Scotland instead, where the Scots took him for their king. Cromwell marched to Scotland and defeated the Scots at Dunbar; and when Charles came into England to raise the people in his favour, Cromwell at once pursued him, and defeated him at Worcester, so that he had to flee from the land in disguise, and made his escape with difficulty. After this, in 1651, there was no one to stand against the new government; there remained the difficulty of getting the new government itself set right. The Parliament then sitting was very small in numbers, and did not represent the people, yet it thought that it could use all the powers of the State. As it would not dissolve, Cromwell turned the members out (1653), and tried to set up a better Parliament, chosen by himself and the chief officers of the army. But this Parliament set to work to change so many things, that men grew alarmed, and it dissolved itself before the end of the year. Then those who were in favour of the Commonwealth saw that the only way to get a settled government was to go back so far to the

Cromwell and Parliament, 1649–1653.

old constitution of England as to have one man head of the State; so Cromwell was made head, with the title of Protector.

Rule of Cromwell, 1653-1658.

5. Cromwell was a great ruler, but he had to do an impossible work. He had to govern England as the head of a religious republic, when the great mass of the people did not want a republic, and disliked the form of religion which went with it. If Cromwell had been made king, he might have gathered the people again round the old constitution; but the Independents and the army would not hear of setting up monarchy again. So Cromwell had to try and get a Parliament which would do what he wanted; but he could not succeed, for the Parliaments which he called quarrelled amongst themselves and did nothing, or else attempted to do what was unwise and had to be dissolved. Cromwell found all his efforts fail to settle the government in a peaceable and orderly way. He had to keep order by meaans of the army, and set up major-generals in the place of the ordinary magistrates. But he did not like doing these things, and he wanted men to agree again; but the great body of the Independents were not so wise as he, and tried to make all men think and behave in religious matters as they did themselves, till men found their rule to be as oppressive as that of Charles I. in his worst days.

Richard Cromwell, 658-1659.

6. While he lived Cromwell kept order and made England respected by foreign countries; for he asserted the power of England over the Channel, and defeated the Dutch, who were England's commercial rivals, and made war also against Spain. But when Cromwell died, in 1658, there was no one to keep together the different parties. His son, Richard Cromwell, was made Protector, but he was too easy-going to govern in difficult times. As he was not a soldier the army felt no attachment to him, and a struggle

between Parliament and the army began. Parliament was dissolved, and the officers of the army called together again the members of the Long Parliament whom Oliver Cromwell had turned out in 1653. But this Rump Parliament, as it was nicknamed, believed in its own powers, and would not obey the army, so it was turned out, and there was no proper government at all.

7. At last these difficulties in getting any fixed form of government in the place of the monarchy which had been overthrown made men wish to have a king back again. So long as the army was united this was impossible; but it happened that General Monk, who was in command of the soldiers in Scotland, looked with jealousy on the doings of the soldiers in England. So he marched to England, and declared himself in favour of a free Parliament. The old members of the House of Commons, who had been turned out of the Long Parliament by Colonel Pride in 1648, were called to take their seats by the side of the Rump. Then the Long Parliament dissolved itself, and a new Parliament was called, which invited Charles Stuart to come back as king to England. The difficulty of finding out anything which men would agree to set in the place of the old way of governing led them at last to agree in bringing it back again.

The Restoration, 1660.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REVOLUTION.

1. WHEN Charles II. came back in 1660, he met with no opposition. The army was paid off and broken up. Everything that had been done since the outbreak of the war was undone. The Church of England was set up again as it

Restoration of the Church, 1660.

had been before, and the Puritans were again called upon to submit to it. Those who refused were called Dissenters, were punished for worshipping in their own fashion, and were shut out from holding office in the towns.

2. If Charles II. had been a good or a wise man, he would have learned how England wished to be governed; but he believed in the powers of the king, and in the right of the Stuarts to the English throne, as much as his father had done. He was not so sincere as his father, but meant to keep his crown when once he had got it, and not run into danger as his father had done. The old questions of the rights of the king and of Parliament soon began to crop up again; but instead of openly defying Parliament Charles II. deceived them in underhand ways. Nothing prospered in his reign. He went to war with the Dutch and was defeated, because the ships were out of repair, as the king spent all the money he could get on his own pleasures. A great plague visited London in 1665, and destroyed a fifth of the population: this was followed by a fire, which burned nearly two-thirds of the city. Charles II. lived an evil life, and set an example which men who had been forced into hypocrisy by the piety of the Puritans were only too ready to follow. The reign of Charles II. is one of the most disgraceful times in our history.

Charles II. and Parliament, 1660–1670.

3. Moreover, in foreign matters Charles II. held the same views as his father and grandfather. He wanted to be on friendly terms with the great foreign powers. At this time France was the greatest kingdom, as Spain had fallen into feebleness. So Charles II. wished to ally himself firmly with France, and for this purpose was willing to allow the Catholics their own worship, as his father had been before. Indeed, Charles II., though he cared little about religion in his doings, seems in his heart to have believed that

Charles II. and France, 1670–1674.

the Catholics were right. So in 1670 Charles II. made a secret treaty with Lewis XIV., the mighty King of France, in which Lewis agreed to give Charles money, and so enable him to rule without his Parliament, and Charles agreed to join Lewis in war against the Dutch and to declare himself a Catholic. Soon after this Charles published a Declaration of Indulgence, which declared that Catholics and Dissenters might worship in their own way. But Parliament was angry at this because in this way the king set aside the laws by his own power. Moreover, men were still so alarmed at the remembrance of the doings of the Puritans, when they were in power, that they believed the maintenance of the Church of England to be a necessary security for government; so they looked on the king's attempt to give toleration as a plot against the constitution. Hence Parliament refused the king any money till he had withdrawn his Declaration of Indulgence; and, moreover, they passed an Act known as the Test Act, which required all who held office in the State to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and declare that they did not hold the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Thus Charles II.'s schemes were stopped for the time, and he was driven to make peace with Holland in 1674.

4. After this Charles II. tried to please Parliament by marrying his niece Mary to his nephew William, Prince of Orange, who was stadtholder, or president, of the Dutch Republic, and was the leader of the Protestant party in Europe. Angry at this, Lewis XIV. determined, instead of paying Charles II. money to keep him friendly with France, that he would raise up troubles for him at home which would prevent England from interfering in foreign affairs. So he caused to be laid before Parliament

Charles II. and Parliament, 1674–1678.

letters of Charles's chief minister, the Earl of Danby, which spoke of the money which Lewis was to pay to Charles that he might do his bidding. On this Parliament impeached Danby. To save his minister, Charles dissolved the Parliament, which had sat from the beginning of his reign, and had assembled full of loyalty and desire to please the king. Just at this time the excited feelings of men led an impostor, Titus Oates, who had once been a Jesuit, to come forward and tell an untrue story of a Popish plot to destroy the king and the constitution of England. His story was at once believed, and many innocent men were put to death on false testimony.

5. The Parliament that was elected in the midst of this excitement set to work at once to provide for the protection of Protestantism in England. Charles II. had no children, and his brother James, Duke of York, was heir to the crown; but James was a Catholic, and men had begun to speak of setting him aside. There were difficulties in the way of this, for men in England wished to have a king over them, and most of them held that the king's power rested on Divine right. If so, it was clear that James's claim could not be set aside. Those who thought that James would destroy the liberties of the country held that the king was bound to uphold the laws and liberties of the land, and that if he did not do so he might be withstood and set aside. Parliament had just succeeded in stopping Charles II.'s scheme of allying himself with France, and so making himself strong enough to set up again the power of the Crown and overthrow the liberties of England. James was himself a Catholic, and was more likely to succeed in the same attempt. So a Bill to exclude James from the throne was brought into Parliament. Feeling ran higher on this question, and men were sharply divided into two parties by the opinions which they held about it.

The Exclusion Bill, 1678.

Those who wished to set James aside were called Whigs, after the Whiggamores, a band of Presbyterian rebels in Scotland; those who were in favour of James were called Tories, after a band of wild Catholic rebels in Ireland.

6. The strife between these two parties was bitter. The new House of Commons, in 1679, passed the Exclusion Bill, and was dissolved. The next House of Commons did likewise, and was also dissolved. Charles II. showed surprising resolution in upholding the rights of his family to the crown, for the man whom the Whigs wished to set up in the place of James was the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles, of whom he was very fond. In 1681 a fourth Parliament was summoned at Oxford, which was more violent than before, and was also dissolved. The violence of the Whigs had by this time disgusted moderate men; the untruthfulness of the Popish Plot had now been found out, and men's minds were calmer. Charles had shown moderation, and had, after all, only been maintaining the rights of his brother; so public opinion gradually came round to his side. The king was soon strong enough to bring the Whig leaders to trial on various charges; and the discovery of a conspiracy to shoot Charles and James by the Rye House, in Hertfordshire, gave grounds for accusing some of the principal Whigs of treason (1683). After this Charles did as he liked; and when he died, in 1685, James II. came to the throne without opposition. A rising against him of the Duke of Argyle in Scotland and of the Duke of Monmouth in the West of England was quickly put down, and the rebels were punished with terrible severity.

Triumph of Charles II., 1679–1685.

7. James II. completely justified all the fears of the Whigs. He aimed, like all the Stuarts, at making the power of the Crown supreme; and he hoped to do this by getting together a standing

James II., 1685–1688.

army and by putting the Catholics in power. He knew that he could not do this by means of Parliament, so he put Catholics in office, and said that as king he had power of dispensing in particular cases with the laws. He made judges who would be likely to obey him; and these judges ruled that the king had this power. Then James gave offices to Catholics as he pleased; and thinking to get the Dissenters also on his side, he published in 1687 a Declaration of Indulgence to Catholics and Dissenters, as Charles II. had done. This set the Tories against him, for they were all firm upholders of the English Church, and did not win over the Dissenters, for they would not have toleration given them in an unlawful way.

8. Still James went on with his plans, and in 1688 ordered all ministers to read the Declaration of Indulgence on two Sundays in their churches. This the clergy would not do; and seven of the bishops drew up a petition to the king, asking that the order might be withdrawn. James brought the bishops to trial for libel, as their petition had been printed and circulated throughout the country. In spite of all the king's efforts to have the bishops found guilty, they were acquitted; and the rejoicing throughout England at the verdict showed James how entirely the people were against him. His rule had been endured so long because he was an old man, and men thought that on his death the crown would go to his daughter Mary, who was a Protestant and was married to the Prince of Orange. But just before the trial of the bishops a son was born to James, and men were afraid of a Catholic successor. So on the day of their acquittal a letter was sent to William of Orange, signed by seven of the chief men of England, Whigs and Tories alike, asking him to come to England and protect its liberties from James.

Trial of the bishops, 1688.

9. William of Orange, besides being the leader of the Protestant party in Europe, was also the leader of opposition to the excessive power of France. Lewis XIV. had grown so strong as to threaten the freedom of all other European States; he was attacking Holland and looking forward to obtain for his grandson the crown of Spain. England would naturally have been alarmed at these aggressions of France; but the Stuart kings had been willing to help the policy of Lewis XIV., that in return he might help to strengthen their power in England. William of Orange was ready to free England of James II., that England might take her natural place as leader of the opposition to the growth of the power of France. So William accepted the invitation to come to England, and, with a small army, landed at Torbay in 1688. James soon found himself deserted by all, even by the officers of his own army. In despair of doing anything for himself, he fled to France, in hopes that Lewis XIV. would set him again on his throne, and that he might rule England by foreign aid. The Revolution, 1688.

10. William called together a Parliament, which declared that James had abdicated, and that the throne was vacant. The crown was then offered to William and Mary jointly, and a Declaration of Rights was drawn up, to do away with the chief grievances of the Stuarts. This Declaration declared the dispensing power, the raising of money without grant of Parliament, and the keeping of an army in time of peace, to be unlawful. It declared the need of frequent Parliaments, and the right of freedom of election and freedom of debate. To this William and Mary gave their consent, and the Declaration was afterwards turned into an Act of Parliament. The Bill of Rights, 1689.

11. By the accession of William III. and Mary, the

struggle which had so long lasted between king and Parliament was at last settled. The Commonwealth had attempted to settle it by abolishing monarchy. The Revolution, which set William and Mary on the throne, settled it by setting up a king by the will of the people in the place of a king by Divine right. The full importance of this was not seen at first; no changes were made in the constitution, and no new rights were claimed by Parliament or by the people. But gradually more and more power fell into the hands of Parliament; the king's ministers became more and more answerable to Parliament for what they did, until gradually the king found it wise to take for his ministers those whom Parliament wished. The government came to be, as it is now, in the hands of a ministry, chosen by Parliament, but consulting the Crown, which, however, never opposes the will of the people. This change came about slowly, and was greatly due to the personal characters of the kings who came after the Revolution.

Results of the Revolution.

CHAPTER XIV.

PARTY GOVERNMENT.

1. WILLIAM III. had many difficulties to face when he came to the throne. He was cold and stern, and did not know how to gain the goodwill of Englishmen; nor did he understand the questions which arose in Parliament, or the temper of English politics. The Whigs, who had brought William to the throne, expected that he would behave as leader of their party; but William disliked all questions of party, for he wished to have England united, that it might

Parties in England, 1689–1690.

make war against France. So he chose his ministers at first from both parties, but they did not get on together. William wished to give liberty to the Dissenters; but Parliament would only pass a Toleration Act, which allowed them to have their own places of worship and services, and still kept the Test Act, which prevented them from holding any office. Many of the clergy also refused to take the oath of obedience to William and Mary, for they thought that they were bound to the old king, if he were to come back; and 400 of them gave up their livings and formed the sect of the Nonjurors, which, however, gradually died out. In Parliament the quarrels of parties were so violent that William despaired of getting a settled government, and in 1690 even thought of leaving England and going back to Holland.

2. But the dangers which sprung up on every side made the next Parliament more reasonable, and William could turn his attention to ward off the schemes of Lewis XIV. and James. In Ireland, where most of the people were Catholics, James felt that his cause was strongest. So in 1689 he went to Ireland, called a Parliament, and made war against the Protestants, who held by William. The Catholic Parliament was very violent, and wished to turn the Protestants out of their lands; so that the war was very bitter. In 1690 William went to Ireland and fought a great battle against James on the river Boyne. James was defeated, and fled back to France, and next year Ireland was again brought under Protestant rule. But the Protestants in their turn treated the Catholics harshly, took from them all power in the State, and made many oppressive laws, forbidding them to send their children to schools of their own religion, to inherit lands from Protestants, or even to buy lands themselves. The old enmity between the Irish people and the English

William III. and Ireland, 1689–1690.

settlers had been joined with the religious opposition between Protestants and Catholics which the Reformation had brought about. Now that the Reformation struggles were beginning to settle down in England, they were made more violent in Ireland. The English settlers, who were the Protestants, were few in comparison with the Irish, who were Catholics; yet they had all the power in their hands, and oppressed the Irish; so that ill-will was constantly kept up, and has not yet died away.

3. In Scotland also there were some troubles, though the Scots were as weary of the Stuarts as were the English. The Scottish Estates, in 1689 took William and Mary as their king and queen, on condition that the Presbyterian form of Church government should be established in Scotland. Still James had some friends in Scotland, especially among the Highlanders. Viscount Dundee put himself at their head, but he was killed in the battle of Killiecrankie, and the Highlanders were gradually brought to submit to William.

William III. and Scotland, 1689–1690.

4. It was from France, however, that the danger was greatest, for William's accession at once set England on the side of those States—chief amongst whom were Spain, Germany, and Holland—who were opposed to France. From 1689 to 1697 England was engaged with these States in war against France. Lewis XIV. endeavoured to keep England quiet by supporting James, and threatening to invade England in his favour. In 1690 the English were beaten at sea, off Beachy Head, by the French admiral Tourville, and in 1692 Tourville again sailed against the English fleet. Lewis XIV. had planned an invasion of England, and James thought that he had many friends even in the fleet who would take his side. Indeed, many of the chief men of

William III. and France, 1689–1697.

England behaved very basely, and did not hold firm either to the side of James or of William ; many of those who held office under William were ready to join James when his cause seemed strong. So Tourville hoped that the English would not fight against him; but he was mistaken, for the English and Dutch ships attacked and sunk many of his ships, and drove him back to La Hogue, where James was ready to embark with his forces. After this there was no more talk of an invasion for some time. Indeed, James behaved so foolishly that his followers in England grew fewer, and Lewis XIV. saw that it was not much use trying to help him. The war on the Continent was not very decisive; neither Lewis nor the allies gained any great victories. But it was very costly, and both parties at last were desirous of peace. So in 1697 was made the Peace of Ryswick, by which Lewis recognised William III. as King of England, and promised to give no further help to James; he also had to give back much of the territory which he had taken from his neighbours.

5. This war against France led to many important results in England. William could only get money through Parliament, and so had to summon Parliament often. So anxious was William to carry on the war with vigour, that he gave way to Parliament on many points which otherwise he would have resisted, and Parliament did all it could to strengthen its own power. Thus the Triennial Bill was passed in 1694, enacting that a Parliament should not sit for more than three years; and the Mutiny Bill, under which the army is held together, was passed only for a short time, so that Parliament had to be soon called together again to renew it. Moreover, the means taken to get money for this war brought about some important changes. First of these was the National Debt, which was set on

William III. and Parliament, 1690–1699.

foot by Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1693. More money was needed than the taxes brought in, so Montague borrowed the money on the security of future taxes, so that the payment of the money might be spread over future years. The National Debt at the end of William's reign was sixteen millions; since that time it has reached over seven hundred millions. Another way of raising money was by borrowing from a banking company, and allowing them to treat the money lent to government as part of their capital. In this way the Bank of England sprung up. After the war was over, William had more and more trouble with his Parliaments. Mary died in 1694, to her husband's great grief, and after her death William's unpopularity increased. He did not understand the English people, and they did not understand his wise plans in foreign politics, which were his chief interest. Parliament showed its jealousy of the king by insisting on disbanding nearly all the troops, although William knew that it could not be long before war broke out again. Moreover, in 1699 they insisted that the king should send back to Holland his Dutch guards, for whom he had a great liking. Parliament compelled him also to take back from his friends some lands in Ireland, which he had granted them in reward for their services; for Parliament thought that these lands ought to be sold to pay for the expenses of the war.

6. All this time William was anxiously trying to settle a difficult question with Lewis XIV., which was the succession to the throne of Spain. King Charles II. of Spain had no children, and Lewis XIV. had married his sister, so that Lewis's son was the nearest heir to the Spanish throne; but Lewis's wife, on marrying him, had laid aside all claim to the Spanish crown. William III. was afraid that Lewis's greed would lead him to pay no heed to this re-

Schemes of France, 1699–1702.

nunciation, and he tried to settle by treaties a division of the Spanish dominion, which would prevent Lewis from gaining too much power. William was his own foreign minister, and made these treaties without consulting anyone. The Commons were so angry when they knew this that they impeached the Chancellor, Somers, for putting the seal to them. When Charles II. of Spain died in 1700, leaving all the lands he ruled to the grandson of Lewis, Lewis XIV. paid no heed to the treaty, but set his grandson on the throne of Spain. At first Parliament was too much opposed to William for him to do anything; but in the next year James Stuart died, and Lewis publicly recognised his son, James Edward, as King of England. Then men in England saw that William was right in his distrust of Lewis XIV., and that there would be no security for the country until they had put down by force the power of Lewis XIV. William died in 1702, before war was declared. He had struggled manfully all his days against difficulties, and he succeeded on the whole. For he drew England to see that her own interests, as a nation, lay in upholding liberty in Europe, and he led her to take the chief part in the war which was to check the threatening power of France.

7. He was succeeded by Anne, second daughter of James II., a kindly but stupid woman, who was very popular, and had no quarrels with Parliament, because she was content that it should do as it pleased. Hence in her reign the struggle lay more decidedly between the two parties of Whigs and Tories; for when the Crown ceased to exercise a decided influence on affairs, it became clear that the power formerly exercised by the Crown was to be in the hands of the party which was in the majority, and each party strove to raise such questions as would gain most support for itself. In this way party government arose, and as the

Parties under Anne.

power of the Crown grew less, it became recognised as the means by which parliamentary government was to be carried on. In Anne's reign Whigs and Tories violently opposed one another. The Tories held fast to the Church, and went against the Dissenters; while the Whigs wished to see the laws against the Dissenters done away with. Moreover, the Whigs were in favour of carrying on the war against France, while the Tories were at first lukewarm and afterwards opposed it.

Godolphin's ministry, 1702–1710.

8. When Anne came to the throne she was entirely under the influence of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and his wife. Marlborough was wise enough to understand the great plans of William III., and wished to carry them out. At first his influence with the queen made him the most powerful man in England; and a Tory ministry, at the head of which was Lord Godolphin, supported Marlborough in carrying on the war.

War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–1713.

9. The war of the Spanish Succession, in which Marlborough was the great general, lasted from 1702 to 1713, and was fought by England, Holland, Austria, Prussia, and Hanover against France. The fighting chiefly lay in the Spanish Netherlands—the country which we now call Belgium. But in 1704 Marlborough led his army into Bavaria, and a great battle was fought at Blenheim, to prevent the French from attacking Austria. The French were entirely defeated, and this was the first serious check which Lewis XIV. had met with. In the same year also an English admiral, Sir George Rooke, who was cruising off the Spanish coast, made a sudden landing and took Gibraltar, which England has kept ever since, and has found very useful, because its possession secures for English ships a free passage into the Mediterranean Sea. Marlborough's victories followed fast:

in 1706 he won the battle of Ramillies, in 1708 Oudenarde, and in 1709 Malplaquet. The French were driven out of the Netherlands, their renown in war was lost, and their resources were drained to the utmost. In Spain the allies did not succeed so well, as the Spaniards preferred their French king to the Austrian prince whom the allies wished to set up. This war was in its commencement a Whig war, and Marlborough's victories made the Whigs most popular; so that in 1705 the Whigs had a majority in Parliament, and Marlborough found that it was necessary for the ministry to have the support of that party. So he asked the queen to make his son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, a Whig, Secretary of State. For some time Anne refused, for she agreed with the views of the Tories and not of the Whigs; but at last she gave way to please Marlborough, and to help him to carry on the war. After this the Whigs became still more powerful in Parliament, and more of them had to be taken into the ministry, till in 1708 the ministry was entirely made up of Whigs. Thus Parliament was seen to have taken away from the Crown the power of choosing its own ministers. If anything was to be done the Crown must have such ministers as Parliament would trust and follow—that is, must, as a rule, choose all ministers from the party which for the time has the majority in the House of Commons.

10. But Anne did not like her Whig ministers, who were overbearing and meddlesome. They foolishly impeached a High Church clergyman, Dr. Sacheverell, for preaching that it was against God's law to disobey the king under any circumstances; the trial stirred up the people through the country, and showed how strong was the love of the common people for the Church. Moreover, men were weary of the war; and the queen was weary of the overbearing ways of the

Fall of the Whigs, 1710.

Duchess of Marlborough, and had got a new favourite, Mrs. Masham, who was the cousin of Robert Harley, the leader of the Tories. So Harley prevailed on the queen, in 1710, to dismiss her Whig ministers and appoint Tories, with Harley, who was made Earl of Oxford, at their head. The elections, which were influenced by Sacheverell's trial, produced a Tory majority, and Oxford was powerful in England for the next four years. This was the way in which, as the power of Parliament grew, the organisation of party government gradually formed for itself those principles and rules by means of which it is now carried on.

Rule of the Tories, 1710–1714.

11. Oxford at once set himself to make peace with Lewis XIV., and Marlborough was recalled from his office of general in 1712. Next year peace was signed at Utrecht on terms much more favourable to Lewis than those which he had offered and which had been rejected a few years before. Still England gained by it Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, and trading rights with the Spanish colonies; Lewis XIV. also promised to give no support to James Edward, the Pretender, as he was called. Still the wish of some of the Tories seems to have been to set James Edward on the throne after Anne's death, for Anne had no children. But an Act of Parliament, passed in 1701, had provided for a Protestant being set on the throne, and had settled the succession on the Princess Sophia of Hanover, who was the grand-daughter of James I. Oxford was thought to be too indifferent and careless about the question of the succession, and Lord Bolingbroke, a powerful member of the ministry, contrived to win the queen's favour, so that Oxford was dismissed in 1714. Directly after this, before Bolingbroke had time to take any steps, the queen died, having appointed, the day before her death, the Duke of Shrewsbury Lord Treasurer.

Shrewsbury was a Whig, and took prompt measures for the recognition as king of George, Elector of Hanover, son of the Princess Sophia. The Jacobites were not prepared to make any opposition; George came to England, and was peaceably received as king.

12. One great thing was done in Anne's days—the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland into the kingdom of Great Britain. This was brought about through the discontent of the Scots, who were hindered in their trade by the taxes which England laid on their products. In 1699 the Scots had formed a plan of founding a colony on the Isthmus of Darien; but the colony failed miserably, and many men in Scotland were ruined. The Scots put down the failure to English jealousy, and the Scottish Parliament spoke very bitterly against England; in 1703 it passed an Act of Security, saying that the next King of Scotland should not be the same person as the King of England, unless security were given for religion, freedom, and trade. This made England afraid that Scotland might again fall under French influence, and choose a king of its own; so, to avoid this risk, they wished to join the two kingdoms together. After many discussions with the Scots, terms were agreed to, and the Act of Union was passed in 1707, by which the Scots were to have the same freedom of trade as the English, were to keep their own Presbyterian Church, and were to send forty-five members to the House of Commons and sixteen peers to the House of Lords.

Union of England and Scotland, 1707.

CHAPTER XV.

RULE OF THE WHIG NOBLES.

George I. and the Whigs, 1714.

1. In 1714 George I. came peaceably to the throne of Great Britain; but the Jacobites soon plucked up their courage and rose against him in the Highlands of Scotland and in the North of England (1715). They were defeated at Sherrifmuir and Preston, and the Pretender fled back to France. But their risings greatly disturbed men's minds in England, and it was not thought wise that an election to a new Parliament should be held just at that time. So an Act, known as the Septennial Act, was passed, which enacted that Parliament might sit for seven years instead of three. The Whigs came into power, for George I. entirely supported the Whig party, as they had secured his accession to the throne. But George I. was Elector of Hanover as well as King of England; he had been born and bred a German, knew little of the English language and still less of the English government. He was a plain, simple man, with no great plans which he wished to carry out, and so was content to leave the government entirely in the hands of his ministers. Thus the power of the Crown passed into the hands of the Whigs, who were strong in the House of Lords, and who made it their object to gain influence over the House of Commons. It was not hard to do so, as the great landowners could, by a little trouble, command the votes in the counties; many of the towns which sent members were very small, and stood on land which belonged to some nobleman, who could nominate his own member for the borough. In the large towns the numbers of voters were few, and could be bribed; many of the towns,

especially the seaports, were under the power of the king and his ministers, and voted as they were told. Thus it was not difficult for the great Whig families to get the House of Commons under their influence, and to use it as a means of keeping themselves in power. For the next fifty years England was really governed by the Whig aristocracy.

Ministries of Townshend and Stanhope, 1714–1721.

2. The chief man of George I.'s first ministry was Lord Townshend; but the king quarrelled with him because he was slow in concluding a treaty, known as the Triple Alliance, between England, Holland, and France. In France Lewis XIV. was dead, and disputes had arisen between France and Spain, which made France wish to have the Peace of Utrecht properly carried out. So General Stanhope, who concluded this alliance in 1717, became the chief man in the ministry. This Triple Alliance secured peace to England for the next twenty years; for the Spanish fleet was defeated by the English fleet off Cape Passaro in 1718, and Spain made peace.

Sir Robert Walpole, 1720–1727.

3. In 1720 great commercial distress came over England by wild speculation, owing to the increased wealth of the country. A company for trading with the South Seas wished to secure government credit, and so agreed to take part of the National Debt from government as part of its capital. Many other companies were formed, and shares rose high; then came a panic, and the South Sea Company had not ready money to meet the danger. Ruin was spread on every side; but the financial talents of Sir Robert Walpole, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, managed to put things on a better footing. After Stanhope's death, Walpole was made head of the ministry (1722), and continued to hold that position for twenty years, till 1742. Walpole was a shrewd and acute

man, but not high-minded nor noble. He deserved well of England for one thing—he thought that rest was what England needed, and he tried to keep peace on every side. He held his position by managing the House of Commons, and he spared nothing to win over the members to his side, for he used to say, 'Every man has his price.' Indeed, those were days when morality was very low. The disputed succession, the violence of party struggles, and the personal aspect which every question wore had made men scheming and self-seeking; and there is little to admire in any of the statesmen of this time.

Walpole's ministry, 1727–1742.

4. When George I. died, in 1727, Walpole managed to win the good opinion of his son, George II., and kept his office. But there was one great fault which Walpole had, in spite of his cleverness; he could not allow anyone to share his power with him, and always quarrelled with any other able man who was in office. Thus an opposition to Walpole gradually grew up in Parliament, which he had to face single-handed. At length the anger of the nation at the restrictions which Spain put upon the English trade with South America drove Walpole, against his will, to declare war against Spain in 1739. The war was not carried on successfully, and in 1742 Walpole was forced to resign; he went to the House of Lords as Earl of Orford.

Carteret and the Pelhams, 1742–1754.

5. After Walpole, Lord Carteret, who afterwards became Earl Granville, was chief minister for two years; he was a great favourite with George II., for he could speak German, and was willing to help the king in strengthening his German possessions. But the strongest party in the Commons was that of the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham, who were followers of Walpole; so Granville was dismissed, in spite of the king's liking for him, and the Pelhams were in power from 1744 to 1754.

They carried out mostly the measures of Walpole, with one great difference—that they had to carry on the war of the Austrian Succession, in which England had engaged, for the purpose of defending the right of Maria Theresa to her father's dominions of Austria. France and Prussia had joined together to weaken the power of Austria, while England's dread of France made her wish to keep Austria strong, and so hold France in check. The war lasted from 1740 to 1748. In 1743 King George himself took the field, and routed the French at Dettingen. The French, to disturb England, again took up the cause of Charles Edward, son of James Edward. The Pretender, as he was called, in 1745 landed in the north of Scotland, and was welcomed by the Highland chiefs. At Preston Pans, near Dunbar, the English troops sent against him, under Sir John Cope, were entirely routed; Charles Edward entered England, and marched down to Derby. He wished to push on to London, but the Highlanders were discouraged when they saw few English join them, and retreated. Next year George II.'s second son, the Duke of Cumberland, entirely overcame the Highlanders at Culloden Field, near Inverness; Charles had to flee, and, after many adventures in his attempts to escape, managed to get safely back to France. The war with France still went on, but without much result; at last, in 1748, peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle. Maria Theresa was left in possession of Austria; and Prussia was the only country that gained from this war, for it won Silesia from Austria.

6. In 1754 Henry Pelham died, on which the king exclaimed, 'Now I shall have no more peace,' for he knew that there would be a struggle who should succeed him as leader of the House of Commons. The Duke of Newcastle was not capable of managing affairs, and was too fond of

William Pitt, 1754–1757.

power to trust anyone else sufficiently. In the House of Commons William Pitt, though not a member of any great family, had made himself a position by his eloquence and by his talents. The king did not like him, because he had spoken against the king's desire to use England's influence to protect Hanover; but Pitt was very popular outside the House of Commons, because he was an honourable and upright man, and had refused, though a poor man, to enrich himself by taking bribes or using the public money for his own advantage. Corruption was very common amongst members of Parliament, and members used their places chiefly to secure their own interests. Gradually the English people had begun to distrust the members when they saw them seeking only their own profit, and thought highly of Pitt because they thought that he acted for the good of the nation. Things looked threatening abroad, for there were many causes of quarrel with France, and it was clear that a war was coming on. The king was driven to make a ministry in 1756, in which Pitt was Secretary of State; but he disliked him so much that he dismissed the ministry in 1757, and again put Newcastle in power. The people, however, showed their respect for Pitt by paying him all possible honour, and Newcastle found that he could not carry on the government without Pitt. So, in 1757, Pitt and Newcastle made a ministry between them; Pitt had the favour of the people, and Newcastle had the support of the great Whig families. It was seen that neither of these could get on without the other. Since the Revolution, up to this time, Parliament had been supreme, and the great Whig families had got Parliament into their own hands Henceforth it was felt that these great families were not to dispose of power entirely as they chose, but that the voice of the people must be listened to. Pitt pleaded with the king for

pardon for Admiral Byng, who was condemned to death for his negligence in allowing the French to seize Minorca, and urged that the House of Commons was inclined for mercy. 'Sir,' answered the king, 'you have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons.'

7. So in 1757 Pitt was called to undertake the management of one of the most important wars in which England had yet been engaged. The cause of the war was the rivalry between England and France in their colonies, both in America and India, and the disputes which arose about the boundaries between the two powers. To this was joined a war in Europe, where Austria, France, and Russia united to put down the power of Prussia, while England supported it. Thus in this war, which is known as the Seven Years' War, because it lasted from 1754 to 1763, England was fighting on the Continent, in America, and in India at the same time. On the Continent many brave deeds were done by English arms; in 1759, two naval victories were won over the French, who were threatening to invade England, and were bringing all their ships together for that purpose. One fleet, sailing from Toulon, was almost entirely destroyed off Lagos, on the coast of Spain, by Admiral Boscawen; when the fleet from Brest put out to sea, it was defeated by Sir Edward Hawke, in a storm, in Quiberon Bay, and was driven to take refuge among the rocks at the mouth of the river Vilaine, where almost all the ships were destroyed. The naval superiority of England was completely asserted.

The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763.

8. But the importance of this war was, that it decided the position of England as a colonising nation. When America was first discovered, the Spaniards made the chief settlements there; but the voyage of Sebastian Cabot, a Genoese, who

Conquest of Canada, 1756–1763.

sailed from Bristol and discovered Newfoundland in the reign of Henry VII., gave England a connexion with North America, which the seamen of Elizabeth's reign, when England began to be a maritime power, gradually increased. It was not, however, till the reign of James I. that English settlements began to take root in North America. The religious troubles of the years before the Great Rebellion drove many Puritans to seek for religious liberty in colonies of their own. Gradually these colonies spread and flourished, till the English owned almost all the land between the river Kennebec and the Gulf of Mexico, extending inwards to the Alleghany mountains. But the French also had founded colonies in North America. On the Gulf of Mexico they had Louisiana, and north of the river St. Lawrence they had Canada. The French colonists were few compared to the English, but they were most of them soldiers, while the English were peaceful settlers. The French wished to spread their colonies down the valley of the Mississippi, so as to join Canada and Louisiana together; in this way the English colonists would have been cut off from trade with the interior of the country, and would have been prevented from extending farther. The French began to build forts along the river Ohio, and war was begun to stop them in 1755. At first the English were defeated; but in 1759 General Wolfe besieged Quebec, the chief town in Canada, and, after hard fighting, succeeded in taking it. After this victory the rest of Canada was soon conquered, and when peace was made with France in 1763, Canada, and all Louisiana east of the Mississippi, became English possessions. After this there was no longer any doubt about the fortunes of the English colonies in America. They were left in peace to pursue their commerce, and grow in courage and in wealth.

9. In India also the English settlers freed themselves

from the rivalry of the French. England's trade with India began in 1600, when Queen Elizabeth gave a body of London merchants a charter which conferred on them the sole right of trading with India. Thus the East India Company was founded; and it managed to have its charter renewed and to keep up its privileges. The Company had no other thought than trading; but the Portuguese and Dutch, who had traded with India before the English came, tried to drive them away, so that there was fighting from time to time. Gradually the English founded trading stations, of which the chief were Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. These trading stations were ruled by men named by the Company, and had small armies, partly of English and partly of natives, who were called Sepoys, from the native word *sipahi*, a soldier. There was, however, no thought of making any conquests till the French forced such a course upon the Company in self-defence; for the French also had stations at Mauritius and at Pondicherry, south of Madras. During the War of the Austrian Succession the French governor of Mauritius took Madras, and Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, claimed to deal with it as he pleased. When peace was made in 1748 the English got back Madras; but they were alarmed at the plans of the French, and soon had reason to be more so. For the great Empire of India, which had been founded by the Moguls in the sixteenth century, was beginning to fall to pieces. The lieutenant of the Great Mogul, as the emperor was called, no longer paid any heed to his commands, but governed independently. Dupleix saw the confusion of India, and formed the scheme of setting up a European empire in the place of that of the Mogul. He accordingly began to mix himself up in the quarrels of the native princes, and pulled down one ruler and set up another so that the

England and India, 1600–1756.

natives began to look on him with reverence, and the English at Madras were afraid that they would be driven out of India by the French. At last, when the French had almost succeeded in setting up a Nabob of the Carnatic, who owed everything to them, and so would be likely to obey them in all things, the English determined to do something in behalf of the Nabob who was driven out. They sent a young man—Robert Clive, who was merely a clerk in the Company's service—with 500 men, of whom 200 were Europeans. He fell upon Arcot, the chief city of the Carnatic, and took it by surprise, but was at once besieged by an army of 10,000 men. For fifty days Clive with his little troop kept them at bay, and when they tried to storm the city defeated them utterly (1751). After this the Nabob whom the French wished to set up had no chance; and Clive did so many daring deeds that the natives began to think more of the English than of the French. Dupleix was recalled to France, and there was no one left to carry out his great plans.

English conquests in India, 1756–1761.

10. In this way the English Trading Company had become mixed up with the politics of India, and they were soon called upon to advance further. In 1756 Surajah Dowlah, the young Nabob of Bengal, being jealous of the power of the English, went against Calcutta and took it. His officers thrust 146 prisoners into a narrow prison, known as the Black Hole of Calcutta, which in that hot country was scarcely fit to hold more than one; next morning only 23 were left alive, for the rest had been stifled or crushed to death. Then Clive was sent from Madras, and won back Calcutta, and reduced the Nabob to make peace. But he went further than this; he promised to help Surajah Dowlah's chief general to become Nabob in his stead; and in 1757 defeated Surajah Dowlah at the

great battle of Plassey, where Clive with 3,000 men fought against the Nabob with 55,000. The new Nabob whom the English set up gave the Company much land as a reward for their services. Afterwards, when the Seven Years' War broke out, the French sent a brave general, Count Lally Tollendal, to carry on war against the English in Madras. At first he was successful, but in 1760 he was entirely defeated at the battle of Wandewash by Colonel Coote, who had learned to fight under Clive. Next year the English took Pondicherry, and the power of the French in India came to an end.

11. Thus the events that happened when Pitt was at the head of affairs were most glorious to England. Her power prevailed in Europe, her naval supremacy was asserted, North America was successfully claimed for her influence, and the foundation of a vast empire was laid in India. This was the result of the gradual settlement at home that had followed the disturbances of the Revolution time. There had been throughout England a steady increase of wealth and industry; and there had also begun a religious and moral revival, which was sorely needed. The Church had become mixed up with politics, and its beliefs and its ceremonies had come to be badges of party, so that it had lost much of its spiritual meaning, and had become cold and formal. The Dissenters also were affected by the same causes, and had lost their hold upon the people. This general coldness in religious matters was at last remedied by some pious students at Oxford, chief amongst whom were John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, who went out and preached among the people, and, by their eloquence and goodness, turned many to lead religious lives. Wesley regarded himself as working for the Church, but the Church looked with some suspicion upon Wesley's followers, and gradually

State of England.

the Wesleyans or Methodists became separated from the Church. Still they stirred up a religious spirit, and awoke the Church and all Dissenting bodies to greater activity, so that a much more serious and earnest tone of mind prevailed in England than had been since the Restoration.

The Seven Years' War was brought to an end by the Peace of Paris in 1763; but before this was signed George II. had died and Pitt had ceased to be minister.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CROWN AGAINST THE WHIG NOBLES.

1. GEORGE II. died in 1760, and his grandson, George III., entered upon a new course of government. George III. was resolved to set up again the royal power as it had been left by the Revolution; for all power had really passed away from the Crown to the great Whig families. George III. wished to break down the power of these families, do away with party government, and make the royal authority once more the regulating element in the State. His object was to get the control of the House of Commons out of the hands of the Whig families and into the hands of the king. George III., however, though well-meaning, and resolute even to obstinacy in carrying out his ideas, was not a man of great wisdom or of much prudence. He made a mistake at first by putting his confidence in the Earl of Bute, who had been his tutor. Bute, who was unpopular as being a Scotchman and a favourite of the king's mother, was at once put into the ministry, and

George III. and Lord Bute, 1760–1763.

soon afterwards Pitt, finding his advice neglected, resigned. In 1762 Bute became Prime Minister, and was eager to bring the war to an end, so that the Treaty of Paris, like the Treaty of Utrecht, was made under the influence of party struggles rather than from wise consideration. The members of the House of Commons were shamelessly bribed to agree to the Peace, so that only 65 voted against it and 319 for it. But the people were so angry with Bute that he was frightened and resigned, for he thought it would be better to influence the king privately than to be minister himself (1763).

2. He named as his successor George Grenville, who, he thought, would do as he was bidden; but in this Bute was disappointed. Grenville, however, did not please the king, who, to get rid of him, was obliged to fall back upon the Whigs, and make their leader, Lord Rockingham, Prime Minister (1765). But the king disliked a party ministry, and, in 1766, prevailed on Pitt, who was made Earl of Chatham, to get together a new ministry not founded on party. Pitt's second ministry was, however, a failure, as he lost his popularity by taking a peerage, and was looked upon as one of the king's friends, as the king's followers in his new policy were called. Moreover, Chatham's mind gave way, and he was at last obliged to leave the ministry, which, under the leadership of the Duke of Grafton, became more and more unpopular. The people showed their discontent with the House of Commons by taking up the case of Wilkes, who had been expelled from the House in 1763 for publishing a libel on the king and Lord Bute. He was looked upon by the people as a martyr, and was elected member for Middlesex in 1768; the House again expelled him for uttering libels; but when a fresh election was ordered for Middlesex, Wilkes was almost unanimously returned; and though a second

George III. and his ministry, 1763–1782.

election produced the same result, the House declared his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, to have been duly elected. The separation between the House of Commons and the people was growing wider. Grafton at last found himself so unpopular that he resigned, in 1770. The Whigs were divided into two parties, one of which followed Chatham and the other Rockingham. So the king took advantage of their disunion, and made Lord North Prime Minister. North had a good deal of common sense and great good-humour; he managed the House of Commons, and at the same time worked with the king. His ministry lasted for twelve years (1770–1782), and marks the first triumph of the king's policy. Helped by the people, who were not represented in the House, the king had managed to overthrow the rule of the Whig families, and get a ministry which would carry out the wishes of the Crown. Political parties had entirely changed their objects since the Revolution. The Whigs were those who wished to keep the power in the hands of the great families of the Revolution; the Tories, now that all notion of bringing back the old line of the Stuarts was impossible, were those who wished to uphold the power of the Crown.

3. Under Lord North's ministry, George III. practically governed England himself. But George III. had no notion of doing what was clearly necessary—making the House of Commons more truly representative of the people. His notion was to govern for the people, and the House of Commons was still opposed to them in many ways. In 1771 the Commons grew angry because their speeches were reported in the newspapers, and they sent their officers to bring the printers before them. But the Lord Mayor of London put the officers in prison for trying to arrest a citizen without a warrant. Then the House sent the mayor to the Tower; but the people of London

The Parliament and the people.

broke out into riots, and the Commons were obliged to let the matter drop. Since that time reports of debates in Parliament have been published more and more fully, till now members speak for the purpose of being reported, and complain that they are not reported fully enough.

4. While George III. ruled the country himself, he showed little wisdom in settling a difficulty that had arisen with the American colonies. After the fall of the French power in America, in 1764, the colonies felt less than before their need of English help, and felt more keenly their disadvantages. By the Navigation Act, which had been passed against the Dutch in 1651, the colonies were not allowed to trade with any other country than Great Britain; but to this they had not much objection. The Seven Years' War, however, had been very costly to England, and it was urged that America ought to be taxed to pay for it. The king also was desirous that the power of England should be felt over its colonies. So in 1765 duties were laid on America, on the ground that 'it was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised there.' There was great indignation at this in America, for it was a new thing, and men said that it was contrary to all the liberties of Englishmen that they should be called upon to pay taxes when they sent no representatives to Parliament. The quarrel went on, and the ministers tried to get over it by making the taxes few and small; but the Americans objected to them altogether, and refused to pay a duty on tea. Chatham was wise enough to say that it was wrong to lay on these taxes; but the king was determined to make America obey, and the people were mostly of the same mind. So in 1775 Parliament declared that a rebellion existed, and measures were taken to put down the Americans. The thirteen colonies

War with the American colonies, 1775–1778.

each governed themselves, but they sent men from each to meet together in what was called Congress, and made common cause against England; a brave and skilful general, George Washington, of Virginia, was put in command of their fighting men. Though they had no trained soldiers, yet every man knew how to use arms, and they were determined to resist to the last. In 1775 the first battle was fought, at Bunker's Hill, near Boston, in which the Americans were driven back, but the English could scarcely claim a victory. Next year the English were compelled to leave Boston. Then, in June 1776, Congress drew up a declaration that the united colonies ought to be, and were, free and independent states. Next year General Burgoyne was surrounded and cut off in Saratoga, and had to surrender with all his army. This great disaster made England willing to make peace with America, and grant everything short of independence. But France hastened to recognise the Americans as a nation and make a treaty with them, and then the whole question changed. Chatham, who before had been in favour of the Americans, went to the House of Lords, though suffering from illness, and spoke against giving way at such a time, he was seized with a fit in the House, and died soon after, in 1778.

5. War was now declared against France, who was joined by Spain and Holland. Moreover, the northern nations, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, all felt aggrieved at the claim which England made to search all neutral ships to see if they were carrying supplies to the enemy. They entered into a league, called the Armed Neutrality, to resist this right, saying that free ships made free goods, and that anything might be carried which was not forbidden by treaty (1780). Thus England had the whole of Europe against her, and could not hope to keep

England's disasters, 1778–1783.

such hold of the sea as would enable her to cut off America from receiving supplies; yet if she could not do this, she could not hope to conquer. In 1781 Lord Cornwallis was surprised and surrounded in York Town by the Americans and French, and was compelled to surrender with all his army. After this disaster there was no hope of winning back America, and men in England had seen that the war was hopeless. In 1782 Lord North resigned, and the king, sorely against his will, was compelled to form a Whig ministry, with Lord Rockingham at its head; Rockingham, however, died in a few months, and Lord Shelburne, who succeeded him, made the treaty of Versailles in 1783, by which the independence of America was acknowledged, and a few of England's conquests were restored to France and Spain. The war against America was wrong in its beginning, and no Englishman can now regret that it ended in defeat.

6. Thus the policy of George III., when he ruled himself, was disastrous to the country, which was heavily taxed to pay for a foolish and unsuccessful war. The Whigs had come back into office, determined to lessen the power of the king. There were many eminent men among them, chief of whom were Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke. Burke had risen solely by his talents, and was one of the wisest and most thoughtful politicians that England has ever produced, so that his speeches will always be read for their great political wisdom as well as for their eloquence. Burke, while in opposition, had brought forward a plan to lessen the king's power by doing away with useless offices and pensions, by means of which the king was able to bribe men to vote as he pleased. Some little was done by Rockingham's ministry in this way; but in July 1782 Rockingham died, and the Whigs split

Rule of the Whigs, 1782–1783.

up into two parties—the old Whigs, and the party that had followed Chatham. The king made Lord Shelburne, head of the Chatham party, Prime Minister. Fox and others refused to serve under him, and were so greedy of power that they combined with Lord North, whom they had so long attacked, to overthrow the ministry of Shelburne. They succeeded in the attempt, and in 1783 the king was compelled to accept a ministry formed out of this coalition, with the Duke of Portland at its head. It now seemed that all the king's efforts to free himself from the Whigs had entirely failed. He was hopelessly in their hands; there was no one to oppose the ministry except the few remaining members of the old Chatham party, with Chatham's son (the young William Pitt) at their head.

7. A difficulty which arose about Indian affairs upset this government after it had been a little while in office.

Affairs in India, 1764–1783.

After the departure of the French, the English power in India went on increasing, as the English became more and more mixed up in the affairs of the native princes. In 1764 the Great Mogul, Shah Alum, and his powerful vizier, the Nabob of Oude, marched against Calcutta with a great army, and were defeated at Buxar by Major Monro; after this Shah Alum gave more lands to the English. But the East India Company did not rule its lands very well; the officials all wanted to be rich, and strove to get all the money they could from the natives. Everything went wrong, and in 1765 Clive was sent out to put matters right. He made a treaty with the Nabob of Oude and the Great Mogul, by which Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar, a district larger than England itself, were given to the English on payment of a yearly rent. Clive also put down the wrong doings of the English, and set up order and justice. Still misfortunes befell the East India Company. There was a dangerous war in Madras, and in

1770 a terrible famine laid waste Bengal. The Company clearly could not manage its business, and in 1773 Lord North was driven to pass the 'Regulating Act,' which put the three settlements, Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, under the Governor of Bengal, who was made Governor-General. A council of four members was sent to advise the Governor-General, and a new law court, like the English court at Westminster, was set up at Calcutta. The first Governor-General was Warren Hastings, who had long been in India, and who by his wise and resolute conduct saved the English power in India during the calamitous time of the American war. Hyder Ali, who began life as a simple soldier, had founded a powerful Mohammedan kingdom at Mysore, and attacked Madras. The Mahrattas, the warlike people of the hills along the western coast, attacked Bombay, and entered into alliance with Hyder Ali. It required all the vigour of Hastings, and the military skill of Sir Eyre Coote, to ward off these formidable invaders. But Hastings succeeded, and did so much to set up strong government and order, that he and Clive may be looked upon as the two founders of our Indian empire. Hastings, however, did many things which were harsh, and some things that were wicked. He had great difficulties with his council, some of the members of which constantly opposed him.

8. These quarrels led to complaints in England, and it was at last felt that affairs in India had become too important to be managed by a trading company, and that government ought to have something to say to them. So Fox brought forward an India Bill, which gave the government of India to seven commissioners, who were to be named by Parliament at first, and afterwards by the Crown. This Bill angered the king, for the naming of the first commissioners by Parliament seemed to be a plan to give power to Fox's

Fox's India Bill, 1783.

friends and set aside the rights of the Crown. Accordingly George III. let it be known, when the Bill went to the House of Lords, that he would look on every lord who voted for it as his enemy. The Lords threw out the Bill, and the king, who had opposed his own ministers, felt obliged to dismiss them (1783). There was no one but William Pitt, who was only twenty-four years old, to take the office of Prime Minister, and the House of Commons was almost entirely against him.

William Pitt the younger, 1783.

9. The Coalition Ministry had never been popular, and Fox was so sure of forcing Pitt to resign that he used his tongue too violently and set men on Pitt's side. Pitt waited for three months, till he thought his time had come, and then dissolved. The elections were in his favour; the king had now got a minister whom he liked, and who was a man of ability. The power of the Whigs was entirely broken, and Pitt remained Prime Minister for eighteen years (1783-1801).

CHAPTER XVII.

EUROPEAN WAR.

Pitt and India, 1783–1785.

1. PITT, like his father, did not at first wish to be the head of a party, or to act solely to please the king, but strove to carry out the wishes of the people. Gradually, however, he came to care less about the people, and join himself more and more to the king. First of all he had to take up the question of India, and passed a Bill which set up a Board of Control, as a department of the English Government, to manage political matters in India; but the Company still carried on its own business and appointed its own

officials. This method of double government satisfied everybody at the time, and lasted till 1858, when India was made part of the dominions of the Crown. The conduct of Hastings was severely judged in England, and he was impeached by the House of Commons. The trial began in 1788, and lasted for seven years, at the end of which time Hastings was at last acquitted.

2. Pitt, as a minister in the years of peace 1783-1789, was wise and careful. England was going through a great change, and was turning into a great manufacturing country. The discovery of improvements in spinning and weaving led to much larger trade in cotton, and the discovery that iron could be worked with coal gave the beginning to England's great trade in iron. The invention of the steam-engine largely increased manufactures. People took to manufacturing rather than farming, and the class of artisans quickly increased. The middle classes became rich, and the artisans learned enough to be discontented. The House of Commons, which represented the middle classes, were afraid of changes, and when Pitt brought in a Bill for reforming Parliament, it was thrown out.

Pitt as a peace minister, 1783-1789.

3. Soon the growing difference between the well-to-do classes, who wanted things to be left alone, and those who wished to have more power given to the people, became a matter of the greatest political importance. France had not been so fortunate as England in setting up Parliament to keep the Crown in check. The monarchy of Lewis XIV. had swallowed up everything in the king and his court, till in 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and the king, Lewis XVI., had to submit first to a National Assembly, then to the people of Paris. The revolutionary opinions of France quickly spread in England; they pleased the artisans, and they terrified the middle classes. English

Effects of the French Revolution, 1789-1793.

statesmen did not at first know how to look upon the events of the French Revolution. Pitt hoped that they would end in setting up a constitutional monarchy, like that of England; Burke saw at once that they would lead to confusion, which would spread through Europe; Fox approved of them, as being an expression of a desire for liberty. On this point Fox and Burke quarrelled, and the consequence was a further weakening of the Whig party. But, as events in France showed more and more an opposition between the king and aristocracy on one side, and the people on the other, parties in England also began to form themselves on the same grounds. The Tory party now meant those who supported the king and government, and wished order to be strictly kept in the dangerous times which were coming. Many of the old Whigs, headed by Burke, joined Pitt and the Tories. The new Whig party was made up of those who thought that there was nothing to fear in England, that the people might be trusted, and that reforms ought to be carried out; at the head of this party was Fox and Lord Grey.

4. The government was bent on keeping order, and on putting down all signs of sympathy with the French people, which some societies in England openly expressed. In 1792 a proclamation against seditious writings was issued, and the militia was called out to keep down possible riots. The execution of Lewis XVI. in 1793, and the publication by the French Convention of a decree offering to help all nations to recover their freedom, led England to join Austria and Prussia in making war against the French Republic. This war was not successful on the Continent, though the English navy asserted its power at sea. England's allies fell away from her; taxes weighed heavily on the people; trade suffered severely, and men wished

Pitt's repressive measures, 1793-1796.

for peace. Government had become more and more convinced of the need of putting down sedition at home; men were imprisoned and brought to trial for writing or speaking opinions against the king or the government. Freedom of opinion had for the time come to an end in England.

5. In 1796 an effort was made for peace; but France haughtily refused, and began to make preparations for invading England. From this time the war entirely changed; it was now popular in England, and Pitt, as the defender of his country, became stronger than ever. Holland and Spain joined France, who hoped, with the help of their fleets, to carry out its invasion. But the Spanish fleet was defeated off Cape St. Vincent, and the Dutch off Camperdown. For the present, the plan of an invasion had to be laid aside.

War with France, 1796–1797

6. The side from which France was most likely to injure England was Ireland, which had many grievances, and was disaffected towards England. After William III.'s Irish war, the Protestants had been put in entire supremacy over the Catholics, who were oppressed in every way. But, besides this, England had not behaved wisely towards Ireland, which she regarded as a colony, and subjected its trade to the restrictions of the Navigation Act, so that Ireland could not trade with the colonies except through England. English commercial jealousy stopped Irish trade in every way; her woollen trade and her agriculture were alike prevented from becoming prosperous by the restrictive duties laid upon them. Thus England set up in Ireland the ascendancy of a Protestant minority over the Catholics, and then oppressed the Irish Protestants, in the same way as she drove the American colonists to rebellion. The success of the

Affairs of Ireland, 1690–1790.

Americans encouraged the Irish to follow their example, till Lord North, in 1780, had been obliged to give some measure of free trade to Ireland. But when the Irish had gone so far with the Americans, they determined to go further, and, under the leadership of Grattan, the Irish Parliament, in 1782, declared that the Irish Parliament ought to make laws for Ireland free from the interference of the English government and Parliament. England was obliged to allow this. But this home rule of Protestants did not benefit the Catholics. Lawless societies formed themselves among the Catholic peasantry, and the Orange lodges of the Protestants were set up against them.

7. The ideas of the French Revolution spread rapidly in Ireland, and a body called the United Irishmen was formed, to take in all who were discontented with England, whether Catholics or Protestants. The hope of the society was, with the aid of France to set up a republican government in Ireland, apart from any connexion with England. In 1796 a French fleet, under General Hoche, set out for Ireland, but was scattered by fogs and stormy weather. The English government, in alarm, began injudiciously to grant small measures of reform, which gave no real satisfaction and showed weakness. The Irish organised themselves for rebellion, which broke out in 1798, and was marked by great savagery on both sides ; the Irish peasantry showed their hatred towards their Protestant oppressors, and the Irish Protestants, wild with distrust, strove to crush the rebellion by butchery. It was not long before the rebellion was put down, and Lord Cornwallis, who was sent as governor-general from England, strove to bring back order by conciliating the people and dealing harshly with their leaders. It was clear, however, that Ireland could not be governed by an Irish

Union of England and Ireland, 1796-1800.

Parliament, and Pitt set himself to work to bring about a union between Ireland and England. The influence of the English government prevailed on the Irish Parliament, in 1800, to pass an Act of Union, by which was formed the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with one Parliament, to which Ireland was to send four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers, and a hundred members of the House of Commons.

8. This union had been brought about by the help of the Catholics, to whom Pitt had promised some relief from the laws that had been passed against them. But when he proposed to bring forward a Catholic Relief Bill, he found that the king entirely opposed it; George III. had been persuaded that to give relief to the Catholics would be contrary to the oath which he had taken at his coronation to uphold the Church of England, and he was too obstinate to give up his opinion. Pitt finding himself checked by the king, resigned in 1801, and was followed by the best men of his ministry. Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons, was put at the head of the remainder.

Pitt's resignation, 1801.

9. Addington was not strong enough to carry on a war policy, and was anxious for peace. Indeed, in 1801 things looked ill for England. Napoleon Buonaparte had managed to put himself at the head of the French government, and was bent upon carrying out great schemes of conquest. In 1798 he had gone with an army to Egypt, intending to conquer Syria and India. In Egypt Napoleon was at first successful, but by a daring attack Admiral Nelson succeeded in destroying the French fleet in the Bay of Aboukir. Next year (1799) Napoleon entered Syria, but was repulsed from Acre by the help which Sir Sydney Smith gave to its Turkish commander. Soon after this Napoleon hurried back to France, where the government

The war with France, 1798–1802.

had fallen into disorder, and succeeded in setting up himself as First Consul. Then he turned his attention to affairs in Europe, and reduced England's allies to make peace with him. More than this, the Northern States, Russia, Sweden, and Holland, again formed a league to resist England's right of searching their vessels. In 1801 England was without allies, opposed to France and the Northern League. But in Egypt Sir Ralph Abercrombie defeated the French at Alexandria so decisively as to render success hopeless for their plans in the East; and at the same time Nelson attacked the Danish fleet in the harbour of Copenhagen, and inflicted such damage that the Danes sued for a truce, and the death of the Emperor of Russia caused a change in the policy of that country. After this England was ready for peace; for the country was weighed down by taxes, and two years of scarcity, which had raised the price of corn to 120 shillings the quarter, had almost produced a famine. Peace was made at Amiens in 1802.

10. It soon became clear that Napoleon did not mean to stop his aggressions, but spread his power in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. He also demanded that England should not receive French exiles, or allow them to unite against him. The English nation was now thoroughly aroused. War was declared in 1803; and Pitt, who agreed not to raise again the question of Catholic Emancipation, was in 1804 called to manage the war. Pitt was not successful as a war minister. He did not understand sufficiently the nature of the power which he was opposing. He had no other views of combating the revolutionary spirit of the French Republic than by forming European coalitions, as had been done against the French monarchy. He wished to form a ministry from both parties, but the king objected, and the ministry was again Tory. His

Pitt's second ministry, 1804–1806.

great object was to make a strong alliance with Russia, Austria, and Sweden against Napoleon. This alliance failed; but Napoleon's scheme of an invasion of England failed also. His fleet, which had sailed to the West Indies to draw away Nelson, was not quick enough in returning; Nelson overtook the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar, and entirely defeated them. But Napoleon meanwhile had attacked Austria, and won a great victory at Austerlitz over the combined Russian and Austrian armies. Pitt, who was in failing health, was so disheartened at the news of this victory that he died in 1806, at the age of forty-seven, after having ruled England for nearly nineteen years.

11. He was succeeded by Lord Grenville, who, with Fox and Addington, formed a ministry which was called 'of all the talents.' But the Catholic Emancipation question was again raised, and as the ministry would not promise to let it rest, George III. again asserted the royal power by dismissing them (1807). The Duke of Portland then formed a ministry, with Spencer Perceval and Canning. Meanwhile Napoleon's power was fast increasing; he attacked and overthrew Prussia at Jena, and then proceeded to strike a blow which he thought would crush England. From Berlin he issued a decree forbidding any commerce with England, and so hoped to cut off England from her sources of wealth. England answered by a series of Orders in Council, which declared all ports from which England was excluded to be in blockade, and forbade trading with them. New dangers threatened, for Russia made peace at Tilsit with France, and it was agreed that the Danish fleet was to be used for an attack on England. The English fleet immediately sailed against Denmark, bombarded Copenhagen, and captured the Danish vessels.

England's difficulties, 1807.

12. The only country in Western Europe which had

not passed under the influence of France, and which still traded with England, was Portugal; but in 1807 Spain and Portugal were occupied by the French troops. An insurrection against the French sprung up immediately afterwards, and English help was sent to the Peninsula. In 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley defeated the French at Vimiera, and forced them to leave Portugal. From this time the successes of the English arms under Wellesley, who was made Lord Wellington in 1810, were almost continuous. Wellington set to work steadily to drive the French out of the Peninsula, and by judicious management and great military skill he gradually succeeded. He was badly supported by the government, who kept up the old policy of trying to form coalitions against Napoleon's power, and spent money on expeditions elsewhere instead of carrying on war vigorously in one quarter. In 1809 an expedition sent to Walcheren, under the command of Lord Chatham, who was quite unfit for the post, ended only in the loss by fever of a great number of troops. This disaster led to a quarrel in the Cabinet; Portland resigned, and another Tory ministry was formed under Spencer Perceval. In 1811 George III.'s madness made it necessary to appoint the Prince of Wales Regent. In 1812 Perceval was shot by a lunatic while entering the House of Commons; but his ministry remained in office, with Lord Liverpool at its head.

The Peninsular war, 1807–1812.

13. Little by little Wellington drove the French before him in the Peninsula, and Napoleon's enemies plucked up courage once more. In 1812 Napoleon marched into Russia and took Moscow, but in his retreat lost most of his army through cold and hunger. Then Austria and Prussia rose against him, and advanced into France; at the same time the French were driven out of Spain by Wel-

Fall of Napoleon, 1812–1815.

lington, who followed them into France. Napoleon was helpless and was comprlled to abdicate; the old royal line was restored to the French throne in 1814. But next year Napoleon escaped from Elba, where he had been placed by the allies, and again gathered an army. The battle that ended Napoleon's career was fought at Waterloo in 1815, where the armies of England and Prussia, under Wellington and Blücher, entirely defeated the French. Napoleon was sent as prisoner to St. Helena, where he remained till his death. The allies set to work to undo the results of Napoleon's conquests, and to set up the old state of things in Europe; but small States had to give up much to large States, especially to Russia and Prussia, and little heed was paid to the wishes of the people themselves, how or by whom they should be ruled.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

1. ENGLAND was greatly exhausted by the war, and the peace brought no relief, for it threw many men out of employment, and the change of prices which followed from trade beginning again to flow naturally made a sudden difference both in agriculture and commerce. There was great distress, and riots broke out in many places. In the general discontent men began to look for some political change as a means of setting things right. Parliament, it was said, was elected only by the land-owners, and not by the great body of the people. The Government was still raising heavy taxes and keeping up a large army for

Results of the war in England, 1815–1820.

purposes which the people did not care about. The ministry could only be made responsible to the people if Parliamentary representation were reformed. Thus a movement for Parliamentary reform was set on foot. The Tories opposed this in every way; for their opinion was that the people should be governed by the land-owners, who would protect themselves against the ignorant masses. Political meetings were checked, seditious writings were suppressed, and, in 1819, six Acts were passed to increase their powers of government to carry out their plan of forcing people to be content with things as they were. Added to other causes of discontent was the fact that the Prince Regent was deservedly unpopular for his profligate life and dishonourable character. The reign of George III. came to an end in 1820, amid general discontent and distress. Ministry and Parliament were not trusted by the people, and spent their energies in putting down the efforts of the people to make their voice heard in demands for reform.

Political discontent, 1820–1822.

2. George IV. did not change Lord Liverpool's ministry; but its unpopularity was shown by a wild scheme formed by some desperate men to put the ministers to death at a Cabinet dinner. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators were taken prisoners in a stable in Cato Street. The discovery of this plot strengthened the Government for a time, but they soon roused the people against them by bringing in a Bill to dissolve the king's marriage. George IV. had from the first disliked his wife, a princess of Brunswick, and accused her of ill conduct. The people sided with the queen, who they thought had been ill-used. The Bill was withdrawn, and it was clear that the king and ministry were opposed by the people. In foreign politics the ministry was equally unpopular. The Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia

had formed what they called the Holy Alliance, to promote peace on the principles of Christianity. By this they meant to put down all attempts of the people throughout Europe to act upon the ideas of freedom which the French Revolution had spread among them and to endeavour to get self-government as against their kings. England would not join the alliance; but Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Minister, did not try to prevent its policy, and was thought secretly to favour it. This made the ministry more unpopular, till on Castlereagh's death, in 1822, Canning took his place, and the Government became more liberal in its tone. Canning's first step was to make it clear that England disapproved of the Holy Alliance and its plan of settling the affairs of Europe by means of congresses. The Duke of Wellington went to represent England at the Congress of Verona in 1822, and on finding that its object was to put down a rising in Spain, he withdrew. Canning made Europe understand that England wished to secure peace, and to allow other nations to choose their own form of government, as she had done herself.

3. In commercial matters a new policy was introduced by Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade. He saw the advantages to be gained by free trade, and took the first steps towards it. Hitherto manufacturers had thought that they could best further their own interests by getting the highest prices for their own manufactures, and raw foreign produce was prevented from competing with English produce by heavy duties laid upon its import. We now know that it is best for the public good, and best for the interest of trade in the long run, that everything should be bought as cheap as possible, and that as few restrictions as possible should be put in the way of freedom of trade. Huskisson's first step in this direction was to alter the

Commercial reforms, 1823–1824.

Navigation Act, passed in the time of the Commonwealth, forbidding foreign produce to be brought in any but English ships. America had passed a similar Act against England, and the ships which carried goods from one country to the other had to perform half their voyage empty. Huskisson, in 1823, passed the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, by which English and foreign ships were put on the same footing. In 1824 Huskisson, in spite of the position of manufacturers and workmen, reduced the duties on silk and wool, and the result was soon felt in a great increase of trade. Next year, however, foolish speculation brought its results of commercial ruin and consequent distress amongst the lower classes, which led to riots; and it was some time before quiet was restored and trade again prospered. Huskisson saw that one way to lessen the sufferings of the poor at such times was to allow foreign corn to be brought into England, so that the price of corn might not change so much as it did under the old system of preventing by protective duties the import of corn from abroad. But the Bill which he brought forward was thrown out by the House of Lords.

4. The Tory ministry consisted of two parties: one headed by Canning and Huskisson, which was liberal on all things but parliamentary reform; the other headed by Lord Liverpool, which was opposed to all changes. The death of Lord Liverpool, in 1827, broke the tie which held these two parties together, and Canning was made Prime Minister; but he, too, died in the same year; and after an attempt to carry on a moderate ministry under Lord Goderich, the king called on the Duke of Wellington, who formed an entirely Tory ministry.

Death of Lord Liverpool, 1827.

5. The Duke of Wellington was more fitted for a general than a statesman; in fact, he tried to carry on public business as though he were managing a cam-

paign. In foreign politics he did not act very wisely. England had been deeply interested in the rising of the Greeks against the Turks, to win for themselves independence. Russia was willing to help them against the Turks, but England and France thought it well that Russia should not do so alone. Canning accordingly brought about a treaty between the three powers, that the Turks were to be called upon to grant an armistice and arrange matters with the Greeks. The Turks refused, and the Egyptian fleet sailed to help them. The allied fleet was watching the Turkish fleet while negotiations about the armistice were going on; but the Turks invited a battle, and their fleet was entirely destroyed in the Bay of Navarino in 1827. If the allies had now pressed on to Constantinople, they could have compelled the Porte to submit to their terms about Greece. But Wellington did not care about Greek independence; he allowed the Russians to finish the matter by themselves, till, in 1828, the kingdom of Greece was established by the treaty of Adrianople.

Duke of Wellington's ministry, 1828–1830.

6. In home affairs Wellington opposed all reforms, but accepted them when he could no longer resist. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts, which shut out from holding office all who were not members of the Church of England, were done away with, and Wellington accepted in their stead a declaration of friendliness to the Church of England. Next year also he gave way on the question of Catholic Emancipation. A powerful association had been formed among the Catholics, which returned its leader, O'Connell, member for Clare. It was clear that the association was too powerful to be put down. Wellington, to the disgust of the High Tories, brought in a Bill for giving equal rights to Protestants and Catholics, which was passed in 1829.

Catholic Emancipation, 1829.

7. Next year a revolution again broke out in France against the king, Charles X., who strove to set aside the constitution and put down the liberty of the press. No one stood by the king, and he was obliged to flee. In England the quiet and orderly spirit in which the French had upheld their liberties produced a great impression on men's minds, and made them more trustful of the lower classes. George IV. died just about the time of these events, and a new Parliament was chosen while they were fresh in men's minds. The Whigs now made up their mind to take in hand the question of parliamentary reform, which had been put off by the war and by the long Tory rule. The Whig families had learned that they could not bear rule again unless they had the people on their side, so they made common cause with them. Wellington declared at once that he would resist all attempts at reform of Parliament, and was compelled to resign. The new king, William IV., was a man of simple character, popular, and without party feeling, who was not likely to set his will against what the people wished. Lory Grey was made Prime Minister, and in 1831 brought in a Bill for the reform of Parliament. There were two chief points to be provided for: (1) that no men should sit in Parliament who did not represent the people; and (2) that those who sat should be chosen in such a way as to represent the people fairly and justly. To bring this about Government proposed that all places which had very few electors should no longer send members to Parliament, but that many large towns that had grown into importance in late years should send members instead, and the counties should send more; also, that all men should have a vote who paid £10 a year rent in boroughs, or in the counties owned land worth £10 a year or paid £50 rent.

Parliamentary reform. 1830–1831.

8. This seemed to be so great a change that many were afraid of it, and many more had an interest in trying to prevent it. The ministry could not carry it through Parliament, and asked for a dissolution. The new Parliament was pledged to reform, and the Bill easily passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the House of Lords. The anger in the country was great, and there was much disturbance. Next year, 1832, the Bill again passed the Commons, and again met with difficulties in the House of Lords. The ministers resigned, and the Duke of Wellington in vain tried to form a ministry which would repress the people by force. A civil war seemed likely, but Wellington found it impossible to carry out his views. Lord Grey's ministry again came into office ; the king prevailed on the Lords to withdraw their opposition, and the Bill was at last passed.

The Reform Bill, 1832.

CHAPTER XIX.

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

1. THE Reform Bill marked a great advance in the English constitution. Parliament, which had grown haphazard into its existing shape, was then made really representative of the English people. The House of Commons, which had been increasing in power ever since the Revolution, became undoubtedly the chief power in the State. It had hitherto been to a large degree dependent on the nobles ; henceforth the nobles had to justify their position as leaders of the people by learning the people's needs, and trying to satisfy them. The immediate result of the

Parliamentary reform, 1832–1867.

Reform Bill was to put the power into the hands of the middle classes; but they, in their turn, had to allow the voice of the lower classes to be heard in the choice of members to Parliament. Already, in 1839, a body, the Chartists, asked for greater reforms (amongst which was universal suffrage), which they drew up in a document called the People's Charter. This movement failed at first; but gradually it was seen that the qualification of paying £10 a year as rental, fixed in 1832, was too high for the suffrage. In 1867, during the Conservative ministry of Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli carried a Bill which gave the franchise in boroughs to all householders paying rates, and in counties to all occupiers of property rated at £15 a year. The government of England is now in the hands of the people, and neither the Crown nor the ministry can venture on any important step without convincing the people that it is for their benefit.

2. What has happened since the Reform Bill is too near our own times for us to judge it impartially, or to see its real meaning. History can only record the judgment which time has already passed. The future must yet declare what results are to follow from the government of England by the people. Yet a few of the things that have taken place in the last fifty years may be mentioned as important.

Events of the last fifty years.

3. The years since the Reform Bill have been marked by a great increase of confidence between different classes, by great commercial prosperity, and by many endeavours to improve the country and do what is judged wisest and best for all. In 1833 a movement, which had long been carried on under the leadership of Wilberforce, for putting down slavery in the English dominions, was at last fully successful. Slaves were set free, and England paid £20,000,000 as compensation to their owners. In 1834 the Poor Law was reformed, to

Reforms, 1833–1835.

make the poor more thrifty and industrious, as well as to lessen the heavy rates for their support. Farmers paid their labourers badly, and relief was given to them out of the rates. This state of things was altered by setting up sufficient workhouses to receive the able-bodied poor, and checking the granting of out-door relief. In 1835 municipal corporations were reformed on the same principles as Parliament had been, and were made truly representative of the people; so that local self-government became more of a reality.

4. In 1837 William IV. died, and was succeeded by his niece, Victoria, who accepted entirely the position of head of the people, governing according to their wishes. Political parties gradually took a new form, and the old names of Whigs and Tories gave way to those of Liberals and Conservatives. Both parties are compelled to rest on a popular basis, and it is agreed by both that 'what concerns all must be approved by all.' The Conservatives wish to preserve existing institutions; the Liberals are willing to make all such changes as they think the people want.

Political parties under Queen Victoria, 1837.

5. One great means of promoting the commerce of England was the introduction of free trade in corn, by Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, who did away with duties on foreign corn. The result of this was to make bread cheaper, and to keep its price fairly uniform; in this way the manufacturing districts were greatly benefited, and the population in towns has greatly increased. Free trade in other matters also greatly extended English commerce.

Corn laws, 1846.

6. The years that followed the fall of Napoleon were years of peace in Europe and in England, and so were favourable for the growth of commerce, which many men thought would render war unlikely for the future. Prince Albert, hus-

Years of peace, 1820–1854.

band of Queen Victoria, formed the idea of a peaceful rivalry between all nations; and in 1851 a great exhibition of industrial products was held in London, which was the first of a series of such exhibitions which since then have been held in all the chief countries of Europe and in America.

Russia and India, 1854-1858.

7. These hopes of lasting peace soon came to an end. Russia attacked Turkey, that she might rescue Christians of the same race as herself from Turkish rule, and also might advance her own borders in the East. England and France joined to prevent the advance of Russia, and a war in the Crimea (1854-5) compelled Russia to come to terms. This war was followed by a great calamity in India, where the power of England, especially under the guidance of Marquess Wellesley (1798-1805), had increased until the entire peninsula, up to the Himalaya Mountains and the river Indus, either belonged to England or was under England's protection. The East India Company's sole right to trade with India was done away in 1813, and the trade was made free to all English merchants. Its sole right to trade with China was in like manner done away in 1834, when it ceased to exist as a commercial company, though it kept its territorial position. In 1857 a serious mutiny broke out among the native troops in India, which was not put down without difficulty. After this the government of India was handed over to the Crown.

Ireland, 1869-1870.

8. Since then the condition of Ireland has occupied the attention of English statesmen. The English Church, which was only the Church of the minority of the people, was disestablished by Mr. Gladstone in 1869, and thus one grievance of the Irish was done away. In 1870 an Irish Land Act aimed at putting the relations between landlord and tenant on a better footing. It is hoped that in time Ireland will feel

that England is desirous of repairing the wrongs of her government in the past, and will feel satisfied with her position as part of the United Kingdom.

9. The object of these pages has been to trace how England has grown into its present form. When we look back upon the past, present difficulties, however keenly felt, seem small compared with those which our forefathers had to face. The future of England depends upon each generation showing the same courage, wisdom, and moderation as was shown by those who made England what she is.

Conclusion.

HISTORY

ENTRANCE EXAMINATION, AUTUMN TERM, 1872.

1. Name the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and give (with dates), some of the important events in their history.

2. Give outline of the reign of Edward IV.

3. State what you can about Villenage and its extinction.

4. Give an account of Simnel's imposture.

5 Mention (giving dates) any important events in the reign of Elizabeth.

6. Give some account of the Petition of Right, and of ship-money.

7. Name the Battles of the Civil War (Chas I.)

8. What was the declaration of Rights? Give its principal conditions.

9. Give date of the Union of England and Scotland, with the chief terms of Union.

10. Give brief accounts of the following battles:—Dunbar, Killicrankie, Boyne, Oudenarde.

NOTE—Seven and a-half for each of these questions.

JULY EXAMINATIONS, 1877.

Values.

10 1. What races effected settlements in England before the year 1200?

18 2. Tell what you know about the Norman Conquest.

16 3. "Edward the third, my lords, had seven sons,

The first, Edward the Black Prince, prince of Wales;
The second, William of Hatfield; and the third,
Lionel, duke of Clarence; next to whom
Was John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster;
The fifth was Edmond Langley, duke of York;
The sixth was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloster;
William of Windsor was the seventh, and last."

Name in order the Kings that reigned in England between Edward III. and Henry VIII., and state from which of these sons each was descended.

16 4. Give a short account of the reign of Charles I.

12 5 What different authorities must, according to the English constitution, consent to a bill, before it becomes law? Which of these has at present the greatest power? Mention a time at which one of the others took the lead.

DECEMBER, 1877.

Values

Fifty per cent is the minimum for passing.

12 1. How did Canada come in possession of the French, and how did the British acquire it?

12 2. Name in order the Tudor sovereigns of England, and tell what you know of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

12 3. In whose reign were the battles of Bannockburn, Culloden, and Waterloo fought; between what nations; and who were the principal commanders on each side?

12 4. When did Queen Victoria come to the throne? Whom did she succeed, and what have been the principal events in the history of Canada during her reign?

12 5. Say what you know about Oliver Cromwell, Joan of Arc, John Milton, Lord Nelson.

12 6 When did the United States become an independent nation; and when did Canada become a Dominion.

JULY EXAMINATIONS, 1878.

Values.

9+3+3 1. Describe the feudal system What was the condition of the farm laborers under it? About what time did it prevail?

4+4+4 2. What was Magna Charta? Why is it considered important? By what King and under what circumstances was it signed?

5+5+5 3. Name the Tudor sovereigns in order, explain how they were related to one another, and tell what you know about the history of the reign of the last one of them.

8+2 4. What was the cause of the quarrel which resulted in the revolt of the American colonies and the establishment of the United States of America? In what reign did these events occur?

8+6+2 5. What is meant by the Ministry or Cabinet? By what authority are its members nominally, and by what really, appointed at the present time? Who is the present Prime Minister of England?

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Signed, A. F. BUTLER Co. Inspector.
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